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CONTENTS *October, 1961*

lahorn]—Loren Baritz, *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry* [Douglas Rennie]—Leo Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa* [Gladys Ishida]—Leonard W. Doob, *Becoming More Civilized: A Psychological Exploration* [Burton R. Fisher]—Francis L. Broderick, *W. E. B. DuBois. Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* [Ansel P. Simpson]—Wilson Record and Jane Cassels Record (eds.), *Little Rock, U.S.A.* [John H. Burma]—Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953* [H. Yuan Tien]—Morris Janowitz (ed.), *Community Political Systems* [Robert B. Notestein]—Bert Kaplan (ed.), *Studying Personality Cross-Culturally* [Victor Barnouw]—Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, *The Sociology of Social Problems* [Clement S. Mihanovich]—Grahame Clarke, *Archaeology and Society* [Robert R. Howard]—Walter M. Lifton, *Working With Groups* [Albert Elias]—Clara Chassell Cooper, *A Comparative Study of Delinquents and Non-Delinquents* [Michael Hakeem]—Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* [David Gottlieb]—Walter C. Reckless, *The Crime Problem* [James M. Reinhardt]

The Concepts of Tolerance
and Contraculture as Applied
to Delinquency*

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

IN defining juvenile delinquency, laws are of little use. Usually laws are specific only in relation to serious adult offenses such as murder, assault, robbery, burglary, and so forth. Children are delinquent if they are found guilty in court of breaking any of the federal, state, or local laws designed to control adult behavior. Delinquency statistics, however, indicate that these serious offenses account for only a small proportion of the delinquencies of children. Most of the behavior that gets a child into trouble with the police and courts comes under a much less definite part of the law on juvenile delinquency. Examples are easy to find. The Illinois law defines as delinquent a child who is incorrigible or who is growing up in idleness, one who wanders about the streets in the nighttime without being on any lawful business, or one who is guilty of indecent or lascivious conduct. Laws in some other states are still

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more vague. New Mexico rests its definition on the word habitual. A delinquent child is one who, by habitually refusing to obey the reasonable and lawful commands of his parents or other persons of lawful authority, is deemed to be habitually uncontrolled, habitually disobedient, or habitually wayward; or who habitually is a truant from home or school; or who habitually so deports himself as to injure or endanger the morals, health, or welfare of himself or others. In these laws there is no definition of such words or phrases as incorrigible, habitual, indecent conduct, or in the nighttime. How much disobedience constitutes incorrigibility? How often may a child perform an act before it is considered habitual?

The federal Children's Bureau dodges all this by stating flatly that juvenile delinquency cases are those referred to courts for certain violations of laws or for conduct so seriously antisocial as to interfere with the rights of others or to menace the welfare of the delinquent himself or of the community.[1] This approach does not help much. Someone has to decide when the child has violated a law or when his conduct is antisocial. Parents, teachers, and police make the decisions. What guides them in deciding when a child's behavior justifies a court hearing? Is a court hearing the only measure of delinquency? Or are there gradations in delinquency? If so, where along the line of gradation does a child become so out of line that his behavior merits calling him a delinquent? If delinquent behavior has gradations, does good behavior also have gradations?

This paper is an attempt to assign misbehavior to a place in the total social structure, and to determine when misbehavior should be termed delinquency. The Children's Bureau definition is tentatively used: behavior that interferes with the rights of others, or menaces the welfare of the delinquent or the welfare of the community. I am concerned chiefly with the last, construed to mean the effective functioning of the social organization.

The Behavior Continuum

A word now about Figure 1. The figure represents the social structure, the framework of which consists of the institutions and

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[1] *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1957,* Statistical Series No. 52 (Washington, D.C.: Children's Bureau, 1959), p. 4.

less formal but fairly permanent organizations that, operating to-
gether, carry on the functions of the society. Area D represents
the central or dominant part of the social structure, where institu-
tions are found that set the formal standards for behavior and exert
the formal means of control. The base line represents the extent
of deviations from the central social norms. According to this hypo-
thetical formulation, behavior falls into a continuum from con-
demnable behavior (area A) through decreasing degrees of dis-
approved behavior to the central area D and then through increasing
degrees of good behavior to near perfection in area G.

The area above the line represents the volume of behavior—or
more concretely the number of people—that falls into the area con-
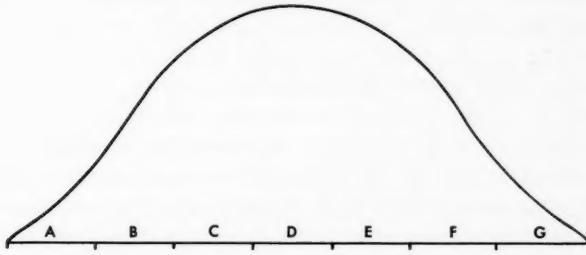
FIGURE 1. Hypothetical formulation of behavior continuum

A. Underconforming
   contraculture
B. Extreme under-
   conformity

C. Minor under
   conformity
D. Normal
   conformity
E. Minor over-
   conformity

F. Extreme over-
   conformity
G. Over conforming
   conformity

trolled by the norms and into successive segments of deviation.
There is sufficient evidence, that I will not quote, to support a bell-
shaped curve.[2]

Even though we know that behavior falls into a continuum, never-
theless we tend to think in terms of dichotomies. We have the sinner
and the saint, the devil and the angel, the alcoholic and the tee-
totaller, the criminal and the upright citizen, the juvenile delinquent
and the model child. We tend to think in terms of black and white,

[2] Floyd H. Allport, "The J-Curve Hypothesis of Conforming Behavior," *Journal
of Social Psychology*, 5:141–83 (1934); R. T. LaPiere, and P. R. Farnsworth, *Social
Psychology* (McGraw-Hill: New York, 1936), p. 400.

whereas between these two rare extremes are many shades of gray. For instance, one might set up such a series as pitch black, charcoal gray, slate gray, tattletale gray, dingy white, off white, and lily white. In this series of seven, the modal term (area D) is not white but tattletale gray. (This term is borrowed from the advertisements of a few years ago in which the sheets flapping on the line were tattletale gray because the housewife had not used the right kind of laundry soap.) Observed behavior falls into similar gradations. The child may break into a store at night and steal (black); deliberately pick up valuables during store hours; occasionally pick up things as opportunity arises; pilfer small objects (tattletale gray); be meticulous about not taking things; remonstrate with others who steal; or report other children to teachers or police for even minor pilfering (lily white).

Social Norms and Modal Behavior

To avoid confusion, certain terms require clarification. The formal standards that dominate area D are social norms. They are related to but not identical with values. Values are ideals or ultimate goals, perhaps never attained. They are abstractions. Social norms are the specific formulations to implement the values in practical, attainable form. They constitute the expectations of society and often are stated in terms implying that exact conformity is expected. However, a third level may be identified, the working plans or modal behavior of the majority of people.

For adequate functioning of society a balance must be maintained between the rigid social norms and the more flexible modal behavior. Complete conformity to the social norms, always, by everyone, is rarely demanded. A concession is made to human nature itself—to the difficulty of always observing rules, or always suppressing impulses, or always standing at attention. Some of these concessions have been institutionalized in the familiar swing back and forth between consecration and carnival. After the religious rites at Christmas we have our modern New Year's Eve; and Mardi Gras precedes Lenten abstinence. Concessions are often made in areas of behavior not vital to the main social functions. Other concessions are made to certain groups, especially the young and the very old. The behavior in the central area D therefore is

not strict conformity to social norms, but permits some deviations. *D* is an area of flexibility or tolerance, but only to the extent that the social organization itself is not threatened.

Normally, children are taught to accept the social norms and to confine their behavior to the area of tolerance. Most people find in this area a satisfactory way of life. Their behavior is reasonably well restrained and predictable. The society functions adequately.

Underconformity and Overconformity

In the illustration of the continuum given above, pilfering of small objects was given as the modal type of behavior falling within the area of tolerance although not rigidly conforming to the social norm of honesty. With this formulation, both more serious forms of stealing and meticulous avoidance of taking things are deviations from the social norms and the modal behavior. There is deviation in the nature of underconformity to the social norms, shown to the left on Figure 1, and deviation in the nature of overconformity to the social norms, shown to the right. Underconformity is an exaggeration of the tolerance allowed by the modal norms; for example, if the modal behavior permits a small amount of pilfering of candy and comic books in the corner store, the underconformer expands the tolerance to include stealing of more valuable objects. Overconformity is an exaggeration of the strict observance of formal social norms. Honesty may be exaggerated to the point where a person would not keep even a pencil that he found nor use an article belonging to someone else even in an emergency.

Either underconformity or overconformity that exceeds the limits of tolerance poses a threat to the operation of the social organization. Overconformity, as a threatening type of deviation, has often been omitted from the formulations of sociologists or has been only casually mentioned. It is true that overconformity usually does not constitute delinquency or crime in the same degree as underconformity. However, it should be included in any discussion providing a complete picture of the social structure, of which delinquency and crime are one kind of deviation and overconformity the opposite kind.

The issue with reference to overconformity has sometimes been obscured by the tendency to think of the social norms not as our

TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF STAGES OF CONTINUITY IN BEHAVIOR

	A Delinquent Contraculture	B Extreme Under-conformity	C Minor Under-conformity	D Normal Conformity	E Minor Over-conformity	F Extreme Over-conformity	G Overconforming Contraculture
Public attitude	Condemnation; "hard core"	Disapproval	Toleration without approval	Tolerance with approval	Toleration without approval	Disapproval	Condemnation
Public reaction	Rejection; school expulsion; commitment to correctional school	Police warnings; school suspension; referral to social agency	Disciplinary action by school or parent	Indifference; acceptance; mild reproofs	Ignoring	Ostracizing	Rejection
Child's attitude toward public	Rejection of values of D	Wavering between acceptance and rejection of D values	Acceptance of values of D; feelings of guilt	Acceptance of values of D; no guilt feelings	No deviation in personal conduct	Criticism of D behavior in others	Rejection of D values
Child's self-concept	As delinquent, outlaw	Confused, marginal to C and A	As misbehaving nondelinquent	As a conforming nondelinquent	As a true conformer	Better than others	His way is the only right way
Examples	Armed robbery; burglary	Larceny of valuables	"Borrowing" and keeping; pilfering	Minor pilfering; unauthorized borrowing	Borrowing only with permission	Extreme care not to use other's possessions; criticism of others	Report even minor pilfering to teacher or police
	Rape; serious sex deviations	Promiscuity; minor sex deviations	Extensive normal sex relations	Minor normal sex relations; petting	Normal, only in marriage; no petting	Restrained, even in marriage	Celibacy as a philosophy
	Drug addiction	Occasional use of drugs	Smoking of marihuana	Smoking tobacco	No smoking; use coffee or tea	No stimulating drinks, even though mild	Opposition to use by others

workable expectations of behavior but as ideal or perfect standards. An example may be drawn from the introductory text by Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen.[3] These authors establish the institutional expectations and the area of tolerance in the middle, with most people fitting their behavior into this area. They also show disapproved behavior to the left, as is done in Figure 1. However, to the right they show approved deviations, whereas Figure 1 and Table 1 define these deviations as disapproved and a threat to area D. According to Lundberg, *et al.*, approved deviations exceed the standard set by the group, and include at the extreme some 2 or 3 per cent of people who are given public recognition for their overconformity. According to this formulation, the ideal standards for behavior would be at the extreme right, would constitute virtual perfection, and, practically, would be attained by almost no one. Everyone except the 2 or 3 per cent would be deviants.

Research studies of juvenile delinquents sometimes ignore the central area of modal behavior and compare delinquent children (area A) with near-perfect children (area G). Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in their much discussed book, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency,* make such a comparison.[4] They matched each of 500 correctional-school boys with a boy of the same age, intelligence, and social background, whose behavior was exemplary. Not only were these control boys without any police, court, or correctional-school record, but 74 per cent were without any known delinquency of even a minor nature. The Gluecks had difficulty in finding 500 such overly good boys, and eventually had to include a few boys guilty of such misbehavior as smoking in their early years, hopping trucks, once or twice swiping much desired articles in five-and-ten-cent stores, crap shooting, sneaking into movies, occasional truancy, being stubborn to their mothers, and a very occasional occurrence of staying out late at night, using vile language, drinking, running away from home, and bunking out. Some of the deficiencies were very trivial and had occurred when the boy was seven or eight years old. The Gluecks then were comparing boys from area A—the most seriously underconforming—with boys from area G—the most seriously overconforming. This selection may account for the fact that, whereas

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[3] George A. Lundberg, Clarence C. Schrag, and Otto N. Larsen, *Sociology,* rev. ed. (Harper: New York, 1958), p. 349.

[4] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 23–39, Chap. 21.

schoolroom chores is also a hindrance in a school that wishes to draw all boys into participation. He may of course be temporarily rewarded by appreciation from an overworked teacher who welcomes his help even though it is at the expense of the boy's participation with other boys in nonschool activities.

The underconformers in area B are made to feel that they are violators of the social norms; but they are not abandoned by representatives of area D.[7] Police warn or arrest but do not necessarily refer boys to the juvenile court. The school may suspend disorderly boys but does not expel them. Parents inflict severe penalties. These disapproved underconformers are made to feel that they are on the outer margin of area C and in danger of losing their membership in conforming groups. One more misstep and they are out.

Youth in overconforming area F are handled somewhat differently. The attitude toward them is one of impatience, sometimes of scorn. They too are made to feel that they are on the outer margin of acceptability. They are socially ostracized, ignored in invitations to parties, and excluded by youth from membership in many groups because they would hamper activities. If adults take any action it is in the nature of trying to stimulate them to normal youth activities, or in some cases referring them to psychiatric clinics for diagnosis and treatment of their extremely overconforming behavior.

Youth themselves in either area B or F feel themselves to be in a marginal position, neither in nor out of the normal social organization. They waver between accepting and adjusting to modal behavior and social norms of the D area, and abandoning these norms altogether. They are in contrast to youth in areas C and E with slightly deviating behavior who feel that they are wanted by groups in area D. The more seriously nonconforming youth in areas B and F feel alternately wanted and rejected by the conforming groups in area D. The youth is in an anomalous position and often feels isolated from all groups. He may become involved in a spiral type of interaction

Boys with Police Records," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 17:309–13 (1953); Wattenberg, "Eleven-Year-Old Boys in Trouble," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 44:409–17 (1953); Wattenberg, "Normal Rebellion—or Real Delinquency?" *Child Study,* 34:15–20 (Fall, 1957).

[7] Stanley Schachter, "Deviation, Rejection, and Communication," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 46:190–207 (April, 1951). In an experiment with small groups, the dissenter at first is the object of increased interaction in the effort to restore him to consensus; when this fails, he is rejected.

in which each move on the part of the representative of area D calls for a countermove on his part. If the youth perceives the approach to him as friendly he may respond with friendliness and a spiral will be set up that carries him back into conforming groups. But if he perceives the approach of conforming groups as hostile and rejective, he will respond in kind and the process of alienation will increase until he breaks off all contacts with the various conforming groups. Underconformers show their hostility by stealing, vandalism, and attacks of various sorts. Overconformers show hostility by vociferous criticism of conforming groups.

Areas B and F are the ones where reclamation of youth must occur if it is to take place at all. Much of what is done with nonconformers is punitive and tends to push a youth further along in the process of alienation from conforming groups. The reverse process might pull him back into conformity. He should be made to feel that he is not a threat to society or permanently outside the approved area of behavior, unworthy of association, even though he has seriously transgressed the codes or social norms.

Areas A and G

Areas A and G differ from the ones already considered in that they do not represent simply deviation from the central modal behavior and social norms, but rather detachment from social norms and opposition to them. In full development, areas A and G are *contracultures*, one of which is built up around disregard for the social norms, the other around overcompliance with the norms.

The term "contraculture" is new in sociology and calls for clarification. It is a replacement for the term subculture when applied to sharply deviating types of behavior. The term subculture refers to a body of beliefs and behavior that differs to some extent from the main culture but is not in conflict with it in destructive fashion. The term contraculture has been proposed by J. Milton Yinger to signify certain qualities of detached groups.[8] According to Yinger's analysis, the contraculture has developed values and modes of behavior that are in conflict with the prevailing social norms (area D).

[8] J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," *American Sociological Review*, 25:625–35 (1960). Albert K. Cohen used the term "delinquent subculture" for essentially the same type of behavior as found in a contraculture.—*Delinquent Boy* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955).

The values and behavior of the contraculture are not only different from but are opposed to the social norms.

The logical end result is that people who accept the contraculture tend to organize into small contra-organizations with their own social norms, hierarchy of status positions, roles, and methods of control. A contracultural organization is not only a threat to the social norms but an active disintegrative element in the total social structure. Youth in areas B and F who are rejected by socially conforming groups may in turn reject these groups and pass into the appropriate contraculture. They are then no longer responsive to either the social norms or the efforts of members of area D to reclaim them.

Let us consider area A, extreme underconformity. Youth in this area are condemned not only in terms of their behavior but as persons. They are referred to as the "hard core" or "real" delinquents. They are physically exiled at least for a period of time. The school may expel them permanently, the judge may commit them to a correctional school or a prison. Occasionally such a youth may receive the death sentence.

The delinquent youth in the delinquent contraculture for his part rejects the conforming groups of society. He no longer measures his behavior against the expectations of area D. His standard of measurement is the small, more restricted, less demanding standard of the delinquent contraculture. Here he may be applauded for stealing, chronic truancy, or fighting. Toward groups in area D he is indifferent, hostile, or vengeful.

The effort to draw members of the delinquent contraculture back into area D is often doomed to failure. The street workers in New York City and other large cities, who have been successful in re-establishing approved social behavior in many street clubs or gangs, note that they cannot influence the hard-core delinquents who are thoroughly incorporated into a delinquent or youthful criminal gang. The street workers, who represent the values and norms of area D, are to the members of the contraculture outsiders and enemies who threaten the little structure of the contraculture.[9] If the street workers or other adults were able to influence individual members of the contraculture, the youth would again have to traverse the disorganizing experiences of area B before he could reach the

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[9] *Reaching the Fighting Gang* (New York: New York City Youth Board, 1960).

relative security of area *C*. He would meet the scorn and rejection of his own gang-mates without having assurance that members of area *C* or *D* would accept him.

What of the overconforming contraculture? Criticism, ostracism, and rejection of youth in area *F* also drive many of them into withdrawal into small closed groups with their own social organization. Many enter already formed adult contracultures that have values and customs opposed to those of the central culture. As examples we have conscientious objection to war, refusal to salute the flag, rejection of medical care when ill or for ill children, refusal to have children vaccinated, refusal to send children to school for the number of years required by law, celibacy, and community ownership of property. Each of these practices is an exaggeration of some value or social norm contained in the general culture. Each is socially disapproved according to the norms of area *D* or is illegal. They are attacks on the general social values and norms, and if they were to spread throughout the nation they would undermine the social structure seriously. Some overconforming contracultures are content to withdraw into isolation; some attack the general social norms through propaganda or legislation. Others, however, are more militant and occasionally some members physically attack members or symbols of the general culture. (Carrie Nation, smashing the windows of saloons, might be an example of a member of a militant overconforming contraculture.)

Further Applications to Juvenile Delinquency

This analysis of deviancy in the social organization clarifies several problems connected with juvenile deliquency. Three of these will be discussed.

1. The relation of public attitudes to social class.[10] Each social class or other large subcultural group has its own definition of what behavior falls into the area of tolerance, what is disapproved mildly or seriously, and what is condemned. Even when these groups share a basic culture and verbally accept the social norms, their concepts of approved and disapproved behavior may differ. The difference between middle- and lower-class definitions of be-

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[10] Marshall Clinard, "Areas for Research in Deviant Behavior," *Sociology and Social Research*, 42:415–19 (1958). Among areas for research, Clinard suggests differences among social classes.

havior is especially pertinent, since most school officers and judges represent the middle class and most seriously misbehaving youth come from the lower class. Figure 2 is an attempt to indicate the difference between lower-class and middle-class judgments of what may and may not be tolerated. The behavior that the lower class would regard as falling in area *D*, to be accepted with tolerance, might be placed by the middle class in area *C* (barely tolerated behavior), or even in area *B*. Lower-class parents, other adults, and children might regard certain behavior as acceptable, whereas teachers and judges might regard it as unacceptable or reprehensible. An example is the case of the father whose son was in a correctional school for taking a car for joy riding. The father said, "Of course, he took a few cars, but he did not strip them; he just wanted to use

Lower-class evaluation of behavior

A	B	C	D	E	F	G

A	B	C	D	E	F	G

Middle-class evaluation of behavior
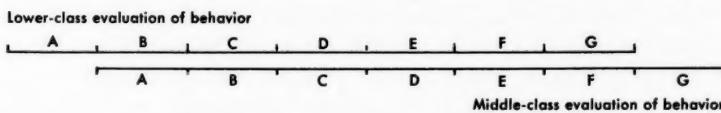
FIGURE 2. Discrepancies between lower-class and middle-class
evaluations of identical behavior

them. He is not a bad boy." But in the eyes of the judge, the boy had stolen the cars. This shifting of the class judgments on behavior is especially interesting at the left-hand extreme. The middle class tends to regard certain acts as type *A*, condemned behavior, that the lower class would regard as either *B* or *A*. This gives a wide range of everyday lower-class behavior that receives middle-class condemnation.

At the overconforming end of the scale the situation is reversed. Behavior that the middle class regards as acceptable and approved (type *D*), the lower class might regard as overconforming type *E* behavior. The lower class would perhaps regard behavior that is either *F* or *G* by middle-class standards as all extremely overconforming.

These shifts can be illustrated briefly by sexual attitudes and behavior in the two social classes. The casual sex relations of boys and girls that are regarded as natural and normal in some lower-class groups are regarded as underconformity and delinquency by middle-class standards. On the other hand the petting that some

middle-class groups regard as an acceptable substitute for inter-course, the lower class would regard as prudish overconformity. At the extreme left, however, the two classes would tend to agree in condemning serious sex deviations, forcible rape, incest, exploitation of little children, and prostitution. At the extreme right, also, there would tend to be agreement, since both classes would probably look with disfavor on universal advocacy of celibacy, for example, as practiced by the Shakers. The argument would not apply to re-ligious organizations where celibacy affects only a small portion of the total religious subculture. Such differences in attitudes of the two social classes lead to misunderstandings. Mishandling of the devi-ants of one social class by authorities in the other class almost automatically follows from such differences in judgment of the same behavior.

2. The evaluation of the behavior continuum is important in the expectations of behavior for delinquent youth on probation or parole. Usually probation or parole entails laying upon the youth a number of stringent restrictions on behavior. The penalty for disobedience often is commitment or return to correctional school. Such conditions as the following are typical: obedience to parents; regular school attendance; return home at an early hour of the eve-ning, sometimes with the hour specified; and avoidance of disrepu-table companions and places. At least some of these requirements are overconforming by lower-class standards and virtually impossible for the youth to follow if he is to remain in the lower-class com-munity and not be isolated from his natural social groups. The result is disregard for the requirements and deception on the part of the youth. Probation and parole might more often be successful if the youth were required to meet reasonably conforming lower-class standards.

3. The third point that may be clarified by the behavior con-tinuum is the often repeated statement that all boys are delinquent but only poor boys are pulled into court or committed to correc-tional schools. It is true, according to several studies, that much de-linquent behavior is overlooked and that most middle-class boys and girls at some time have behaved in such a way that they might have been brought into juvenile court. A recent study by Short and Nye compares misbehavior of high-school students with that of

correctional school students.[11] Some boys and girls in both groups had committed each of a long list of delinquencies. But it was apparent that the correctional-school boys and girls far outstripped the high-school students in the seriousness of their acts and the frequency with which they had committed them. For example, half of high-school boys but almost 100 per cent of correctional-school boys had skipped school; a fourth of high-school boys but 85 per cent of correctional-school boys had skipped school more than once or twice. Or, take a more serious offense, the theft of something worth fifty dollars or more. Five per cent of high-school boys compared with 90 per cent of correctional-school boys had taken things of this value. Almost no high-school boys compared with almost half of the correctional-school boys had committed this offense more than once or twice. An examination of the entire set of data leads to the conclusion that the high-school students had confined their delinquencies to acts within the area of tolerance of the community, whereas the correctional-school boys were guilty of behavior of types *B* or *A,* highly disapproved and regarded as threatening to the social organization.

IN CONCLUSION, this paper has attempted to state a hypothesis whereby behavior may be placed in a continuum running from an underconforming contraculture through various degrees of disapproved behavior to normal conformity and then through stages of overconforming behavior to an overconforming contraculture. The reaction of the normally conforming segment of the population to deviations varies in severity according to the threat posed to the social norms by either under- or overconformity. Minor deviants usually are drawn back into conformity. Serious deviants often are treated so severely that they are alienated and withdraw into a contraculture.

Rockford College

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[11] James F. Short, Jr., and F. Ivan Nye, "Extent of Unrecorded Juvenile Delinquency, Tentative Conclusions," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science,* 49:296–309 (1958).

A Symposium on
Values in Demographic Research:
Introductory Comments[*]

ROY G. FRANCIS

TONIGHT'S series of papers is devoted to a problem of consider-
able importance, if not of considerable published material. We
propose to examine the place of values in at least certain critical
areas of demographic research. The interest in a topic such as this
can flow from a commitment to, if not an involvement in, objec-
tive scientific research.

We here at the regional convention of the Midwest Sociological
Society probably represent the "publishing" segment of our disci-
pline. Clearly, however, a number of those actively engaged in re-
search and publication are not here. In some respects we are under
attack. If we espouse the cause of ethical neutrality too loudly, we
may be accused of having valueless though value-free results. Those
of us who defend the place of values in research do not fare much
better: for as a discipline part of whose content for study are the
values people hold we have failed miserably to distinguish between
various degrees of generality of values. Thus, we tend to lump
values of the sort "I believe in value-free research" with the "I
like chi-square" kind. Worse, we lump the value "I believe in the
dignity of man" with "I like pumpernickel." Someday, perhaps,
we will research the differences between them and their conse-
quences for human behavior.

But even these difficulties are not enough. We who publish are cited as the creators and supporters of the "publish or perish" rule. We are held to be those who have subverted college teaching by rewarding yardage rather than adage. In this regard, I recall an experience I had in Cambridge, Massachusetts, some years ago. I had made a casual acquaintance with an emeritus professor of English from (I believe) Boston University. On the day we were obviously leaving, he chanced by and made the only possible inference. In response to his question about where I was going, I told him to Minnesota. He asked if I were to teach or to do research. I told him both. He replied, "That's good. For always remember this: When you teach, you are in competition only with adolescent minds. But when you research and publish, you are in competition with your peers."

The competitive nature of our peers takes our ideas into the market place where other notions more or less attractively packaged are for sale. In the rough and tumble exchange of this market, certain notable things happen to our ideas: our private biases, our private notions, our personal values are exposed. Probably nothing reinforces the objective character of science as much as does the public character of its results. If science could be private, shared only between the professor and his students, no real test of generality could be developed. Neither could research be freed from the peculiar values of a particular individual. Publication exposes them.

Our papers here explicitly face these issues. We are to hear a public examination of the place of values in demographic research, notably in migration, in family research relating to population control, and in international relations. Whatever other conclusion one might reach, I believe we must agree to this: Without this public evaluation, idiosyncratic views can be paraded as scientifically demonstrated propositions.

Aside from the immense interest in the content of these papers, we are taking a notable and explicit step forward in examining some of the value commitments we have made in highly significant areas. It is perhaps most necessary in the field of population since here, as sharply as possible, we find the intrusion of one's bias on conclusions reached and the effect of conclusions reached on unstated value premises. When the demographer asserts that the

"lower economic groups should have fewer children and upper economic groups—who can afford them—should have more children," he is not merely revealing a value position. This is indicated by the word "should." But he is also getting himself involved in our class structure and our policies of upward mobility. That his conclusion could support more closure of class levels—and hence be undemocratic—might come as a surprise. How supports for "birth control" can become an "okay device" for expressing anti-Catholic sentiments needs little explication.

If biases such as these are deleterious to the development of a science, they should be removed. By a public appraisal of them, we can learn more about how they affect our research and conclusions. In short, we do not expect to have answers regarding our value commitments in demography. We do expect, however, the beginnings of a significant discussion, from which we may have a better appreciation of ourselves as scientists and as human beings.

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Value Assumptions in
Recent Research on Migration *

DONALD O. COWGILL

T HE purpose of this article is to determine, in general, the extent and kind of value judgments, implicit or explicit, which are present in reports of recent research on migration and, secondly, to assess the effect of these judgments upon the research and the conclusions which are drawn from it.

In order to carry out this assignment, I must first define some terms. Adler has noted that various sociologists have used the term "value" in about four basically different ways: as universal absolutes, as attributes of objects, as internal states of man, and as ways of behaving toward things.[1] Adler admits that the first three of these are really beyond the reach of science. For this reason I am compelled to espouse the fourth. Lundberg's definition of values epitomizes this interpretation: ". . . a thing has or is a value if and when people behave toward it so as to retain or increase their possession of it."[2] Of course, this is recognizable as an operational definition, but it is made even more so from the standpoint of the observer by Kluckhohn, who says, "Operationally, the observer notes certain kinds of patterned behavior."[3] This accords closely with the philosophical position of Koehler who concludes[4] that the common element of all definitions and conceptions of values appears to be in the "striving"

[1] Franz Adler, "The Value Concept in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62:272–79 (Nov., 1956).

[2] Cited by Adler, *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Wolfgang Koehler, *The Place of Values in a World of Facts* (New York: Liveright, 1938), p. 62.

for them. If further justification for an operational view of values
be needed, I may cite the dictum of Spinoza: "In no case do we
strive for, wish for or desire anything because we deem it good, but
on the other hand we deem a thing to be good, because we strive
for it, wish for it, long for it, or desire it." [5]

In so far as possible, then, the generalizations of this article will
be based upon the observation of "patterned behavior"—in this case,
verbal behavior as abstracted from printed reports. In order to pro-
vide some systematic check upon my impressions, I have, since
receiving the invitation to present this paper, read or reread some
thirty-five articles or monographs listed in *Sociological Abstracts*
since 1950, making systematic notation of all statements which in-
dicated (1) judgments that migration was good, valuable, necessary,
beneficial, or functional; or that it was bad, disorganizing, disrupt-
ing, detrimental or dysfunctional; or (2) judgments or conclusions
that migration was correlated or causally linked with conditions
which were positively or negatively evaluated either by the author
himself or by the public in general. However, I do not pretend that
all of the conclusions which are presented here rest upon such
systematic investigation; these are merely used as checks upon the
judgments and impressions which I have gained from more than
twenty-five years of study of the subjects of migration and mobility
of population.

For purposes of this paper, the only kinds of migration and mo-
bility with which I shall be concerned are those involving change of
residence and movement through space associated therewith; I shall
not encompass research on labor mobility or occupational mobility or
social mobility. However, I cannot pass the subject of social mobility
without the parenthetical remark that much of the writing in this
area is loaded with value judgments of either the Horatio Alger
tradition or the more recent Freudian fad emphasizing the "climb-
ing-neurosis" which characterizes most of the current literature on
Suburbia, of which *The Split Level Trap* is a good example.

I shall further limit my evaluation to serious writings on migra-
tion and mobility, either reporting research or interpreting it. How-
ever, I shall not necessarily limit myself to the works of those who
claim to be sociologists. I am concerned with the nature of reports

[5] Quoted by Koehler, *ibid*.

on what purports to be sociological research, not with the pedigrees of their authors. Some of the authors will in fact turn out to be economists, some historians, some educators, and some statisticians. However, I should say that of those articles which were systematically reviewed at least two-thirds were written by persons who can readily be indentified as sociologists.

In roughly half of the articles which were systematically reviewed, I was unable to detect any extraneous value judgments. Homer Hitt's article on migration in and out of the South betrays no opinion as to whether he thinks the movement is good or bad.[6] Martinson's study of the migration of high-school graduates in Minnesota contains no perceptible clue as to the attitude of the author.[7] Similarly, Stewart's article in the *Review* dealing with migration on a worldwide and historical basis is concerned merely with testing a formula and betrays no feeling of the author as to the goodness or badness of the process.[8] The impression persists that reports by those who have been trained in sociology are freer of value judgments than reports by persons oriented toward other disciplines. There is a certain logical probability which supports this empirical impression; the sociologist needs no excuse to study the phenomenon of migration; it is obviously within the field of his study, whereas it is peripheral to the central interest of such other fields as economics, psychology, education, and social work. Persons from these other fields who undertake research on migration are likely to be doing so for some specific reason—they come to the job with a point of view created by a problem they have encountered or a hypothesis that migration has certain consequences which affect their field of interest. We will see specific illustrations of this later.

Fashions in Values

Examination of sociological writing on the subject of migration and mobility in historical perspective reveals changes both in types of migration receiving major attention and the extent and

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[6] Homer L. Hitt, "Migration between the South and Other Regions," *Social Forces*, 36:9–16 (Oct., 1957).

[7] Floyd M. Martinson, "Personal Adjustment and Rural-Urban Migration," *Rural Sociology*, 20:102–10 (June, 1955).

[8] Charles T. Stewart, Jr., "Migration as a Function of Population and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, 25:347–56 (June, 1960).

nature of the value judgments characterizing the authors. Elsewhere I have described these changes as follows.[9]

Early sociological theories relating to mobility were almost unanimous in the conclusion that mobility was disorganizing to the individual, to the family and to the community. It should be pointed out, however, that those theories and the substantiating research came about largely under the intellectual aegis of the University of Chicago, particularly W. I. Thomas, whose theories derived in relation to international migration led to an exaggerated emphasis upon mobility in a complex situation of which mobility was but one factor.[10] During the 1920's and 1930's, relying chiefly upon the method of ecological correlation, many scholars contributed to a great mass of evidence that the high mobility areas of our cities were also characterized by high rates of unemployment, divorce and family disorganization, vice, venereal disease, delinquency, child dependency, mental illness, and suicide.[11] These correlations were interpreted to mean that mobility was a prime causative factor leading to social disorganization of which the above pathologies were symptons.

With reference to some pathological conditions, particularly men-

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[9] The following discussion is quoted from Donald O. Cowgill, "The Effect of Mobility," *Survey Papers* (Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1960), pp. 33–42.

[10] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958). First published in 1918.

[11] For correlation with rates of unemployment see Carl M. Rosenquist and Walter G. Browder, *Mobility in Houston, 1922–1938* (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1942); D. O. Cowgill, "Residential Mobility of an Urban Population" (Master's thesis, Washington University, 1935). For correlation with divorce and family disorganization see James H. S. Bossard and Thelma Dillon, "The Spatial Distribution of Divorced Women: A Philadelphia Study," *American Journal of Sociology*, 40:503–7 (Jan., 1935); Andrew Lind, *A Study of Mobility of Population in Seattle* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1925); Ernest R. Mowrer, *Disorganization: Personal and Social* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1942); Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* (Minneapolis: Bureau of Social Research, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937); T. Earl Sullenger, "The Social Significance of Mobility," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55:560 (May, 1950). For correlation with vice and venereal disease see Walter Reckless, *Vice in Chicago* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1933). For correlation with delinquency see Elsa Langmoor and Earl F. Young, "Ecological Interrelationship of Juvenile Delinquency, Dependency and Population Mobility: A Cartographic Analysis of Data from Long Beach, California," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41:598–610 (Mar., 1936); Roderick D. McKenzie, *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1923); Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1929); Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "Juvenile Delinquency," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 6 (Oct., 1936). For correlations with mental illness see Robert E. L. Faris and Warren H. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939); Clarence W. Schroeder, "Mental Disorders in Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 48:40–47 (July, 1942).

tal illness and divorce,[12] studies of actual cases confirmed the correlation, showing that the same individuals were both mentally ill and mobile, or divorced and mobile, as the case might be. While such case-by-case correlations still did not demonstrate a causal role for mobility, they certainly strengthened the argument in that direction.

The case against mobility was further bolstered by descriptive studies of certain dramatic types of mobile persons. Anderson's studies of the hobo of the 1920's and of the transient men of the depression era [13] tended to confirm the judgment that mobile persons were irresponsible, eccentric, social outcasts, indifferent to, if not defiant toward, the values of conventional society. These impressions were strengthened by Minehan's study of boy and girl tramps during the depression and Webb's and Wilson's studies of uprooted families.[14] The health and housing problems of migratory farm workers were reported by Taylor, and laboriously documented by the many volumes of hearings of the House Committee on Interstate Migration (later changed to Defense Migration).[15] But the most dramatic portrayal of the plight of the migrant farm workers was Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (1939). Both the factual and the dramatic depiction of these depressed types of transiency contributed to the growing conviction that mobility was demoralizing to the person and disorganizing to the community.

However, it must be noted that this conviction rested largely upon inferences drawn from ecological correlation and the dramatic portrayal of certain depressed types of migrants, neither one of which demonstrated an inevitable or causal relationship. The ecological studies merely demonstrated that social pathologies occurred most frequently in the areas manifesting high mobility; they did not show that the same people who were mobile were demoralized. Nor did

[12] On mental illness see Christopher Tietze, *et al.*, "Personality Disorder and Spatial Mobility," *American Journal of Sociology*, 48:29–39 (July, 1942); Ornulv Odegaard, "Emigration and Mental Health," *Mental Hygiene*, 20:546–53 (Oct., 1936); Benjamin Malzberg, *Migration and Mental Health* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1956). On divorce, see Ernest R. Mowrer, *The Family* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1932), pp. 193–206.

[13] Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1923); and *Men on the Move* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1940).

[14] Thomas Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps in America* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934); John N. Webb, articles in *FERA Monthly Report* for Nov., 1935, and Jan., 1936; John N. Webb and Jack Y. Bryan, "Migrant Families," *FERA Monthly Report*, Feb., 1936; Robert S. Wilson, "Transient Families," *Family*, 11:234 (Dec., 1930).

[15] Paul S. Taylor, "Migratory Agricultural Workers on the Pacific Coast," *American Sociological Review*, 3:225–32 (Apr., 1936).

the studies of depression migrants establish a necessary causal con-
nection between their mobility and their economic, social and health
problems. Very shortly the discovery of contrary cases began to
soften the condemnation of mobility.

An early break in the case came when Freedman concluded that:

'Although there is evidence that the incidence of types of mental disor-
ganization (manic-depressive psychoses) is high in areas of migrant con-
centration, there is no evidence that migrants to Chicago were consistently
concentrated in areas with high rates of social disorganization. The mi-
grant pattern of distribution did not correspond to the well established
ecological gradient pattern of social disorganization. Thus, the distribu-
tion of migrants to Chicago within the city was not found to be correlated
with the incidence of juvenile delinquency, of schizophrenia, or of syph-
ilis morbidity . . . . The spatial distribution of the migrants to Chicago
is not consistent with the conception that they were personally disorgan-
ized in disproportionate numbers or that their presence was disorganizing
to local areas. Although there may be a relationship between some types
of mobility and social or personal disorganization, the evidence of this
study indicates that this relationship does not generally apply to that
type of mobility indicated by migration to the city alone . . . The migrant
zone at present does not correspond with the central disorganized areas
of the city.' [16]

The divergence of Freedman's findings from those of earlier
studies may be explained in part by the type of data which he used,
namely, census data reported as of the place of residence at census
time and with ratios of those having moved during the previous five
years computed in terms of the area in which they were residing
after the move had occurred. In other words, these rates are based
upon residence *at the point of destination* rather than at the point of
origin. The difference is significant. The latter method will not re-
flect mobility into a newly constructed area; the census method will.
Moves out will be recorded for places which are demolished or
turned to business use; the census method will not show this type of
mobility. For both reasons, the census method will tend to record a
lower rate in the older areas near the central business district and
to record higher rates in newer sections. This, along with the fact
that Freedman was interested primarily in those who moved into
Chicago from outside of the city and paid little attention to the
short-distance intracity moves which are a large part of the total mo-
bility pattern, amply explains the divergence of Freedman's finding
from the earlier studies. In other words, it appears that the results

[16] Ronald Freedman, *Recent Migration to Chicago* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago
Press, 1950), p. 210.

are not inconsistent; they merely reflect different aspects of mobility. But Freedman's approach was needed to round out the picture, and his conclusions are correct, given the kind of data with which he was dealing. The author found the same thing in Wichita in 1950 when he used census data on migration from outside of the county.[17]

The significance of these findings is that when mobility is viewed in terms of ratios of newcomers to a city the correlation with most forms of pathology disappears, and as Freedman points out, there is no reason to conclude that these migrants are disorganized or that they have a disorganizing influence on the community.

Another and still more surprising clue to the real nature of mobility emerged from Rossi's research in Philadelphia. The consistent correlations between mobility and the ratios of the population living outside of family units; i.e., those single, widowed, or divorced, had led to the inference that such unattached persons were responsible for the high rates in the highly mobile areas of the city. Rossi found precisely the opposite; couples with children were the most mobile in these areas and the larger the household the higher its mobility.[18] He noted that the chief precipitating reason for a move was the need for more space and that this was frequently associated with increasing family size. Thus, families living in rooming-house areas in which single, widowed and divorced persons were abundant, still accounted for the major part of the mobility as they sought housing more suited to their needs. So the idea that mobile people tended to be unattached and irresponsible had to be amended.

The author had suspected as early as 1937 that the indictment of mobility was somewhat overdrawn, and had sought to isolate a type of mobility which was not complicated from the outset by poor education, low occupational skill, and poverty. He saw in the infant trailer movement such a type. After three years of participant observation, he reported that in spite of a high degree of mobility there was a singular lack of evidence of personality disorder or family disorganization.[19] This certainly pointed to the conclusion that mobility in and of itself did not necessarily produce personal demoralization and social disorganization. Without such complications as unemployment, poor education, limited occupational skills, and in-

[17] Donald O. Cowgill, *A Pictorial Analysis of Wichita* (Wichita, Kas.: Community Planning Council, 1954). pp. 94–95.

[18] P. H. Rossi, *Why Families Move* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 71, 180.

[19] Donald O. Cowgill, *Mobile Homes* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), p. 90.

move with the season, hoping to secure work in harvesting a wide variety of crops in all parts of the United States.

In summary, it appears that, historically, early sociological literature tended to reflect a negative valuation of migration and mobility. Such was the emphasis in the studies of migration in the early part of the century, the ecological studies of the twenties and thirties and the "Grapes of Wrath" migration during the thirties. But in the last two decades the tendency has been away from this negative assumption to either a neutral position or in some cases to a positive position that is frequently associated with the "push-pull" theory, which contains within it the notion that migration is functional, hence, in most cases, desirable.

Factors Related to Value Assumptions

It was stated earlier that the kind and degree of bias was related in part to the discipline of the writer. A more meaningful way of making the same point is to say that the point of view toward migration seems to be only a part of the general philosophical orientation of the author and depends upon his reason for taking an interest in migration in the first place. Thus, Kuznets sees migration from an economist's point of view as "an adjustment to unequal economic opportunities," [26] and Kulischer sees it in an international perspective as "a condition for the preservation of the peace." [27] On the other hand, those whose professional life is oriented toward alleviating pathological conditions either of a person or group are prone to see migration and mobility as contributing to the evil they are fighting, and their research is likely to reflect this orientation. A mental health worker is likely to suspect that the instability of residence may contribute to the instability of personality. Those concerned with public assistance will be led to study migration or mobility only if they suspect that these conditions are aggravating their problems. Church workers, school administrators, public health officials are prone to view migration as a disturbing influence and the

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[26] Simon Kuznets and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Internal Migration and Economic Growth," *Selected Studies of Migration since World War II* (Milbank Memorial Fund, 1957), pp. 197–211.

[27] E. M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1948), p. 7.

research stemming from these interests usually reflects such an evaluation. This is especially evident in the literature dealing with migrant farm labor.

Attitudes toward migration also vary according to the type of migration or movement being studied. Peoples with permanent settlement have probably always viewed the transient with suspicion; certainly this has been the prevalent attitude in the Anglo-Saxon world since the sixteenth century, when the English undertook by legislation to penalize transiency and to enforce settlement. Our residence laws still reflect this public attitude and some of the research reflects it too. Studies of the hobo, the homeless man, the flophouse, etc., certainly treat the transient as an abnormal, exotic phenomenon. This exotic appeal has been so great that a few of our number have become participant observers for short periods of time, but it is doubtful that we have lost many sociologists by this route.

Nearly all who write and do research about migratory agricultural labor place a negative valuation upon this type of mobility. They perceive many correlated conditions which are negatively valued and assume that migration is bad because it is associated with so many things which are considered bad. Only when the writing and research is undertaken from the viewpoint of management do we get a positive valuation of this type of migration. Within this context, the phenomenon is seen as mobility of labor necessary for the efficient functioning of the economy.

While much of the writing and research about international migration during the twenties tended to stress problems of assimilation, it appears that the emphasis has shifted since World War II to stress the functional value.[28]

Scholars in our democratically oriented society obviously disapprove of enforced or involuntary migration. They are generally sympathetic to displaced persons, refugees and expellees, but they are prone to emphasize the problems of adjustment which are produced by the process.[29]

Except when it is attached to such dramatic types as the migrant farm workers, labor mobility, even when it is recognized that it involves residential mobility, is positively valued. However, most of the research in this area has been done by economists and much of it

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[28] See *ibid.*; Bruno Lasker, *Asia on the Move* (New York: Henry Holt, 1945).
[29] See Maurice Davie, *Refugees in America* (New York: Harper, 1947).

with a management bias. The value system tends to the view that labor mobility is a necessary part of the free enterprise system; it assures a labor supply when and where it is needed.

As noted earlier, nearly all of the early studies of the ecology of residential mobility gave a negative and problem emphasis, but in recent years this emphasis has tended to shift to essentially a neutral position. The social class or economic position of the migrant persons appears to affect the evaluation of the movement. The migrant farm workers are admittedly a depressed economic group; so was the hobo and the homeless man; so is the refugee and the displaced person. Migration in all of these conditions is generally negatively valued. However, when we turn to trailer migrants and to organization men, the emphasis shifts and the writers are more likely to view migration as a functional process. In some instances, there are different attitudes, depending upon the direction of the migration. When there is a commitment to the idea of a large and growing population in a locality or state, in-migration may be desired and encouraged while out-migration is viewed as an economic loss. This attitude is apparent in several recent studies of population of specific states.[30]

Types of Favorable Assumptions

By far the most common favorable assumption about migration is one which links it with economic adjustment. As noted above, the adherents of the "push-pull" theory of migration of necessity view migration as an adjustive process which is in the long run beneficial both to the individual and to society. They see the individual moving from an area of limited opportunity to an area of greater opportunity and assume that in most cases this redounds to the benefit of the individual migrant, that he is better off after migration than he was before. Indeed, the Goodrich report [31] on *Mi-*

[30] Morton B. King, Jr., Harold A. Pederson, and John N. Burrus, *Mississippi's People, 1950* (University, Miss.: University of Mississippi, 1955); Emil B. Dade, *Migration of Kansas Population, 1930–1945* (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Industrial Research Series, No. 6, 1946); J. D. Morgan, *Some Controlling Forces in Kansas Population Movements* (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Bureau of Business Research, 1953); Sidney Henderson, *Labor Force Potentials* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, College of Business Administration Research Bulletin, No. 60, 1956).

[31] Carter Goodrich, *et al., Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), p. 519.

gration and Economic Opportunity reaches this explicit conclusion. It is also assumed that this process is beneficial to society, since it removes excess labor from areas of labor surplus and adds to the labor supply in areas where labor is needed.

Some specific examples of assumptions of this kind include the following. Kuznets and Thomas view migration as an "adjustment to unequal economic opportunities" and go on to say that it is "necessary to economic growth." [32] It seems obvious that they approve of both adjustment and growth. Eldridge says migration, specifically in-migration, is a "symptom of prosperity," and he appears to share the general preference for such prosperity.[33] Anderson sees migration not only as an adjustment of the labor market but as a necessary condition to progress.[34] Intermixed with the ideas of economic growth, prosperity, and progress is the prevalent American notion that population growth is a value in itself and to the extent that migration contributes to that growth, it, too, is deemed a value. Kuznets suggests that migration is not only an adjustive process as between different areas but may also be adjustive through time for a given area since "migration might serve to moderate the (business) cycle." [35]

Petersen apparently sees not only an adjustive process but a leveling process which "reduces differences in wage rates, and in cultural amenities," and since we are, as he says, a "nation of nomads," we are "becoming more homogeneous." He appears to value such homogeneity.[36] Some demographers equate labor surplus with population pressure and are prone to view migration as a safety valve for the relief of such pressure. This makes it not only a means of adjusting the labor market, but of adjusting population per se. For example, Robbins sees emigration from Puerto Rico as a functional process for "relieving population pressure." [37]

[32] Kuznets and Thomas, *op. cit.*

[33] Hope Eldridge, "A Cohort Approach to the Analysis of Migration Differentials" (unpublished paper).

[34] Nels Anderson, *The Urban Community* (New York: Henry Holt, 1959), p. 165.

[35] Simon Kuznets and Ernest Rubin, *Immigration and the Foreign Born* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1954), p. 6.

[36] William Petersen, "Internal Migration and Economic Development in Northern America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* no. 316 (Mar., 1958), pp. 52–59.

[37] Richard Robbins, "Myth and Realities of International Migration into Latin

In fact, it appears that the very concepts of "population pressure" and "overpopulation" so widely used in the field of demography are themselves value-laden concepts. When we say we have too much of something, as we do in both of these terms, do we not imply that we are favorable to reduction of the condition, i.e., in this case, to relieving population pressure and reducing overpopulation? Some of our number have vigorously affirmed that such pressure it not only distressing on humanitarian grounds, but that it poses threats to the society through political and potential military action. Of course, Warren S. Thompson has been one of the most consistent proponents of this point of view, but many others have joined him in warning of these dangers.[38]

Of course, it does not automatically follow that because one is exercised about population pressure he will look upon migration as a positive or practicable means of relieving such pressure, but some do. Kulischer says that "providing for migratory outlets is a necessary, if not sufficient condition for the preservation of peace." [39] And Bruno Lasker holds that "Mobility is a prerequisite for any program that may be undertaken to level out the worst anomalies of population density in relation to resources." [40] Specifically, the Indian demographer Chandrasekhar strongly urges migration as one solution to the population problems of the Far East.[41]

Types of Unfavorable Assumptions

Opposite to these contentions that migration is necessary, efficacious, and good, we may set illustrations of negative evaluations. Many of these derive from the assumption that migration produces problems both for the migrant and for the communities involved. Symbolic of this type of attitude was the early but now largely dis-

America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* no. 316 (Mar., 1958), pp. 102–10.

[38] Warren S. Thompson, *Danger Spots in World Population* (New York: Knopf, 1929); and *Population and Peace in the Pacific* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1946). See also Joyce O. Hertzler, *The Crisis in World Population* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1956); Elmer Pendell, *Population on the Loose* (New York: Wilfred Frank, Inc., 1951); William Vogt, *The Road to Survival* (New York: Wm. Sloane Associates, 1948); Robert C. Cook, *Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma* (New York: Wm. Sloane Associates, 1951).

[39] Kulischer, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[40] Lasker, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

[41] Sripati Chandrasekhar, *Hungry People and Empty Lands* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1954).

credited idea that immigration was largely responsible for our delin-
quency and crime. While this theory in its general form now has
little standing among social scientists, there are some remnants of it
perceptible in research on the Puerto Ricans in New York and on
the migration of Negroes to northern and western cities. The sup-
posed difficulties of adjustment are reflected in Tietze's contention
that rates of mental disturbance are high among migrants.[42]

Some writers are sympathetic to the migrants but critical of the
employers or communities who exploit them. This is the view of
Catapusan in regard to the families displaced by the Hukbalahap
organization in the Philippines[43] and of many of the writers on
migratory farm labor in the United States. Others are led to the
negative evaluation through their concern about the inadequacies of
boom-town facilities.[44] Furthermore there is still some worry about
the difficulties of assimilation. While there are few remaining social
scientists who are as chauvinistic as Fairchild in his alarm at the
"mongrelization" of the American people and the "melting-pot
mistake," we do find Dynes concerned about the "culture shock" of
the rural migrant to urban areas, and Gamio concludes that the
Mexican migrant rarely succeeds in being assimilated.[45] There is also
still scholarly disapproval of permitting freer immigration into the
United States. Spengler states that those who favor relaxation of
restriction do so "predominately upon ethical and humanistic
values," but that upon purely economic grounds restriction is just-
ified.[46]

While some object to immigration, for others, in another context,
out-migration is the more disapproved process. Several students of
migration in relation to specific states or local communities lament
the loss of population through out-migration. Dade complains that
"Kansas lost too many of its youth" and, noting the heavy loading

[42] Tietze, et al., in American Journal of Sociology, 48:29–39.

[43] Benicio T. Catapusan and Flora E. Diaz-Catapusan, "Displaced Migrant Fam-
ilies in Rural Philippines," Sociology and Social Research, 40:186–89 (Jan.–Feb.,
1956).

[44] J. Joel Moss, "Newcomer Family Acceptance-Rejection of the Community and
the Process of Assimilation," Rural Sociology, 21:302–6 (Sept.–Dec., 1956).

[45] Henry P. Fairchild, The Melting-Pot Mistake (Boston: Little, Brown, 1926),
p. 135; Russell R. Dynes, "Rurality, Migration, and Sectarianism," Rural Sociology,
21:25–28 (Mar., 1956); Manuel Gamio, The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story
(Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1931).

[46] Joseph J. Spangler, "Issues and Interests in American Immigration Policy,"
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, no. 316 (Mar.,
1958), pp. 43–57.

of aged population, remarks that "Kansas apparently was a more at-
tractive place in which to die than in which to labor." [47] King in his
study of the population of Mississippi discusses the possibilities of
"reversing the declining population trend due to excessive migration
from the state." [48] In these instances out-migration is seen as a symp-
tom of stagnation and decay. The value judgments inherent in this
concern become especially vivid when the authors express concern
about "depopulation" as Saville does in asking the rhetorical ques-
tion about English rural areas: "Has depopulation in the truly rural
areas gone so far as to undermine the viability of the small villages
and hamlets?" [49]

Effects of Value Judgments

It is much easier to detect the presence of value judgments on
the part of an author than it is to draw the further inference that
those value judgments affected a given piece of research at some
specific level. While it appears safe to say that in nearly all cases the
values of the author played a part in the selection of the subject for
study, in at least half of the cases reviewed, this was the only in-
fluence which could be detected.

In approximately half of the cases, it was possible to infer that
the author's values entered into the formulation of the problem or
the statement of the hypothesis. Again this is not necessarily detri-
mental to the study; it may merely mean that the author has a guess
or hunch which he is following up. This will usually emerge as an
assumption as to the reasons for the migration, probable correlated
conditions, or presumed consequences of such migration. So long as
these values do not impinge upon the later stages of research, it ap-
pears that the effect is desirable and efficacious since all that has hap-
pened thus far is to focus attention upon the subject of migration
and to frame some hypotheses to be tested.

In relatively few cases was I able to say with any assurance that
the value system of the author definitely biased his results. The fact
that so many demographers use census materials in their work offers
some protection against biased samples and biased information. The
danger of biased data is much less than the danger of biased or

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[47] Dade, op. cit., pp. 13, 21.   [48] King, et al., op. cit., p. 58.
[49] John Saville, Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1851–1951 (London:
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), p. xiii.

value-laden conclusions. For example there is no evidence of distortion of the facts of out-migration from Mississippi, Kansas, and Nebraska—the authors in all of these cases use census materials; it is when these authors infer that this out-migration is undesirable and that it should be stopped that their values begin to show.[50] There may have been errors of sampling, of data-collection, and of analysis in other studies, but I found no instance in which this appeared deliberate or in which the errors could be ascribed to the values of the author.

It is my impression that occasional exaggerations of the volume of migration and misrepresentation of the characteristics of migrants are distortions, but not by sociologists or other serious students of the subject; they are usually journalistic distortions introduced for dramatic effect. For example, the estimates of the number of people involved in migrant farm labor range all the way from a half million to five million, depending upon how dramatic the journalist wants to be. Occasionally the purpose is not merely dramatic effect but is a deliberate technique to achieve a given end, such as a gross exaggeration of the volume of Negro migration into a community in the effort to induce panic selling by white property-owners. However, all of this is extraneous to the present question, which has to do with the effect of value judgments upon research. These exaggerations and distortions are not related to actual research; you will not find them in the learned journals; they have not been perpetrated by social scientists.

IN SUMMARY, while it appears that value orientations have played a part in directing attention to specific types of migration at different periods and have led to somewhat different emphases, the trend appears to be toward greater objectivity and more neutrality of values. The major ways in which recent research has been affected has been through selection of subjects for study and the formulation of hypotheses. Even when the authors have either implicit or explicit value assumptions, there is little evidence that this leads to serious distortion of sampling or of data collection. Occasional instances may be noted of value-laden conclusions and even of policies being advocated, but these are rare.

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[50] King, *et al., op. cit.*; Dade, *op. cit.*; Morgan, *op. cit.*; Henderson, *op. cit.*

Value Assumptions in Family Research with Reference to Population*

FLOYD M. MARTINSON

W E ARE in a period of concern about population—population size, population growth, population control. We are also in a period of increased consciousness of value assumptions informing men's actions, and more particularly value assumptions informing activity in our own discipline—values implicit or explicit in our research.

Family researchers share the assumptions of the scientific profession. With science in general, the family researcher is committed to the assumption that the world—a real, natural world—exists; that we can know the world through our senses; that to know is better than not to know, hence activity in pursuit of knowledge is good; that it is important that the world be accurately known, that facts be accurately described; that in this search for facts, or knowledge, or truth, it is important that we set aside personal bias and prejudice and assume for our purposes a posture characterized by objectivity and rationality; that we assume as scientists that "phenomena are related causally" or at least that events may be related in such a way that under specified conditions, event A will be observed to follow event B—a relationship assumed to occur in time and space.[1]

Furthermore, family researchers are concerned that change should emerge from facts, knowledge, and wisdom, not from fear, hysteria,

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[1] William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954), pp. 294-95.

or loss of rational behavior. We sense our responsibility to "answer society's call for help in understanding, predicting, controlling behavior of human beings—to bring about a technology of human behavior." [2]

In other words, we assume that the world exists, and that man as a part of that world exists, that the world can be known to man, that to know is better than not to know—and to know accurately. We assume that the functioning of the world and changes in it are not merely capricious, that it is proper to apply reason and knowledge to action and change in the hope that it will make a difference, that is, that the world will be better for it.

Now I suspect that many of these assumptions are shared not only with other scientists—natural and social—but that they are fairly generally held among intelligent, informed persons in our day.

But this is not the limit of the American family researcher's intellectual rapprochement with the intelligent and informed public. It goes beyond the sharing of assumptions underlying science. In this connection you may recall Paul Furfey's analysis of the first five issues of the *Journal of Social Problems*.[3] Furfey found that 63 per cent of the *Journal* articles contained one or more value postulates (in the case defined as a judgment assigning a value to some social phenomenon, stating, for instance, that it is desirable or undesirable). The social philosophy supporting these value postulates, Furfey concluded, could be most accurately labeled "humanitarianism." "It places a great deal of emphasis on the dignity and worth of the human person. It condemns all cruelty and brutality. It demands for every man freedom to pursue happiness in his own way, provided he does not trespass on the equal freedom of his fellows. It is a reasonable philosophy, very critical of meaningless conventions and traditional social distinctions that lack a pragmatic basis. It is a kindly philosophy, tolerant of differences, more anxious to control by persuasion than by force. It is a secular philosophy, concerned with human welfare in this present existence and not taking sides on religious issues. Historically it has its roots in the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century." There have been changes,

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[2] John C. Darley, "The Nature of the Social Sciences," *Social Science and Freedom* (Minneapolis: Social Science Research Center of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota, 1955), pp. 48–54.

[3] Paul Hardy Furfey, "The Social Philosophy of Social Pathologists," *Social Problems*, 2:171–75 (Oct., 1954).

it is not unified and consistent, but it is still mostly humanitarian.[4] Komarovsky and Waller found humanitarianism—" 'we are all united in a common aspiration for what is good and helpful to the world we live in' "—freely asserted by American students of the family before "the ideal of a value-free science . . . emerged to force writers to disguise their value judgments." [5]

To take a closer look at the assumptions of science and social philosophy as they find expression in the work of American family researchers, especially family sociologists, we find that students have focused their attention on two criteria of success or goals for marriage. One goal is that of a married couple living together permanently (rather than temporarily) and living up to the cultural expectations of the social class with which they identify.[6] To quote Burgess and Locke, "A marriage in modern society might well be rated a success which manages to survive despite disintegrating influences such as economic insecurity, decline of religious and moral control, the liberality of divorce laws, the popularity of the idea of divorce . . . and the example of successive divorces of motion picture stars and other celebrities." Note here that permanent marriage is positively valued and social changes (at least those changes specified) are labeled as "disintegrating influences." [7]

A second goal for the family utilized by the family researcher is one holding that the individual should be free to express his interests, to seek his own goals, to experience personality growth, and to experience personal happiness. But these two goals, if ultimate goals, are antithetical as is any combination of goals emphasizing personal freedom and social order. Family researchers of the 1920's and 1930's resolved this dilemma by assuming that the first goal— the expression of personal freedom—should be accomplished within the limitations of the latter—stable marriage and family consistent with social conventions.

AMERICA had passed through a rural phase when subsocieties were culturally homogeneous and contained stable family norms. In-

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 172–73.

[5] Mirra Komarovsky and Willard Waller, "Studies of the Family," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50:444 (May, 1945).

[6] William L. Kolb, "Sociologically Established Family Norms and Democratic Values," *Social Forces*, 26:451–56 (May, 1948).

[7] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family: From Institution to Companionship* (New York: American Book Co., 1945), p. 433.

dividuals were socialized into subcultural patterns consistent for certain ethnic and regional groupings, and order was further maintained through the social pressure of the group upon the individual and upon the family. Industrialization, urbanization, migration, and education caused cracks to develop in the cake of custom—consistent socialization and social pressure insuring uniformity in performance for an area could no longer be depended upon. These changes were not necessarily viewed with alarm by the sociologist. With other Americans, the family sociologist is committed to the belief in personal freedom; hence no individual should exhibit conformity or conventionality essentially as a result of social pressure brought to bear upon him.

Any pressure to conform to stable social patterns should come through socialization, but more importantly through adjustment of certain elements of personality and social structure so that the individual does not feel that his freedom is unduly circumscribed. The family researcher held (implicitly or explicitly) that it should be possible for the individual to pursue his interests and experience personality development without threat to the stability of family or society.

A basic assumption (implicit at least) of the family researcher was that it should be possible through knowledge of self, rational selection of mate, personal adjustment, and integration of couple members to each other to achieve companionship, happiness, satisfaction, and personal growth without unduly threatening social stability.

Some ways of achieving these goals are the following (these are ways advocated explicitly or implicitly because of the implications of certain choices that are made by the family researcher): First, by careful, rational, scientific choice of a mate. Secondly, by achieving a delicate balance or equilibrium between husband and wife. If the latter is completely successful it should result in maximization of satisfactions of both husband and wife without markedly increasing the restraints or demands on the personality of either. Compromises will be necessary "but these compromises must not make demands upon the individual which interfere with his health, efficiency, happiness, or potentialities of personality development." [8]

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[8] Willard Waller and Reuben Hill, *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation* (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), p. 368.

A third way in which personal freedom within social order is to be achieved is to make personality development the primary goal of marriage and family, and all other goals secondary. To illustrate, authority might be divided among husband, wife, and children, thereby enhancing the sense of personal freedom of each but making secondary the goals of discipline and efficient decision-making (order). Or reproduction can be made a secondary goal serving personal and couple interests—placing personal sexual satisfaction above reproduction as the primary sexual goal. Another example— the freedom of the central figure in the home, the wife-mother, might receive primary consideration when evaluating household tasks, reproduction, child care, etc. Family researchers have given considerable attention to the problem of whether this could be done (making freedom rather than service, for instance, the primary value in the wife-mother role) without jeopardizing the stability of the marriage and family and the proper socialization of the children. Any one of these or others might be used as examples of the principle of making personal freedom a primary goal and all other marriage and family goals secondary.

Another place where this attention to personality shows up is in the direction given in much of the teaching by sociologists-turned-marriage-educators in the functional marriage courses in high school and college—personal happiness through sex, happiness through love, happiness through marriage, happiness through family—are topics given major emphasis.

The implicit assumptions of the family researcher stand out in the concept "adaptability" which is prominent in the research of Burgess and Wallin, for instance. One cannot ascertain from the generic term "adaptability" whether its referent is sociological or psychological. It could refer to the readiness with which social conditions are or should be modified to meet the needs of free men. But it is not defined in sociological terms, even by sociologists. The readiness to change referred to in the concept adaptability is the readiness of the person, not the society. Burgess and Wallin define adaptability as the capacity of a person to change his roles, his attitudes, and his behavior "in order to adjust to those of other persons or to a new or modified situation." [9]

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[9] Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (Chicago: Lippincott, 1953), p. 623.

Adaptability has become a factor of increasing importance in modern marriage for two reasons, say Burgess and Wallin. "First, adaptability facilitates decision-making and collective action of husband and wife. Then, too, adaptability is essential for the adjustment of the couple to conditions in a rapidly changing society." [10] The nature of the society or the direction of its change are not called in question—they are "independent variables."

There was a time in America when family researchers were sociologically rather than psychologically or sociopsychologically oriented. In the history of American sociological writings on the family, three main periods have been distinguished: the period from 1895 to 1914; from 1915 to 1926; and from 1927 to the present.[11] During the first twenty-year period (1895–1914), sociologists stressed the institutional aspects of the family—its forms, functions, and relations to other institutions, and social legislation was recommended in the areas of child labor, wages, protection of women workers, marriage and divorce. "The ideal of value-free science had not as yet emerged to force writers to disguise their value judgments." [12]

During a second period (1915–26), "methods were improved by the growing separation of science and morality; the emphasis on empirical, rather than merely logical, verification, and the increasing use of quantitative methods." [13] In fact it may well be that the preoccupation with more sophisticated methodology had something to do with new directions of interest in family research. The inclination was to select data susceptible of quantification.

Though the second period saw the beginnings of a social psychology of the family, it is not until in the third period, 1927 to the present, that the conception of the family as a unity of interacting personalities dominated family research. We would not underestimate the earlier influence of Cooley, Thomas, and others, but Burgess' essay "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," [14] may well be regarded as having ushered in the contemporary period

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 456.

[11] Komarovsky and Waller, *op. cit.*; John L. Thomas, "Theory and Research in Family Sociology," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, 15:104–16 (June, 1955).

[12] Komarovsky and Waller, *op. cit.*, pp. 443–44.   [13] *Ibid.*, pp. 445–46.

[14] Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *Family*, 7:3–9 (Mar., 1926).

—a period marked by a shift from the institutional to the inter-actional approach in family research. Besides ushering in the contemporary period, Burgess and his students have been responsible for much of the theory as well as the research marking the period of changing emphasis "from institution to companionship."

Perhaps we have taken a long way around to get a simple conclusion or an answer to the problem, what are the value assumptions in family research with reference to population? If we regard population as a collective concept, a concern of the society as a whole, we would have to say that value assumptions in family research in the contemporary period are not generally relevant to the question. Value assumptions in family research have been psychological and sociopsychological assumptions, not purely sociological assumptions. Personal adjustment and interpersonal relations have been the areas of concern. The questions of the family researcher with reference to population have been: Do couples want babies? What do babies do to couple adjustment and personal and couple happiness? How many babies can a couple afford financially? What does a small or a large family do to personality development of the members of the family? The family researcher has largely accepted society and its changes as subjects outside of his purview. He has rather been concerned with the problem of how persons can best adjust to a changing world through marriage. Hence he has had little to say on questions regarding the "population explosion." He might however view the present demand from other circles for birth control, family or population limitation with approval as something that should be pursued not only for the psychological reasons he has espoused but also now for broader sociological reasons. Any assumptions he has made in regard to population policy have been in the area of pragmatic, private family policy, that is, that family size can be tailored to fit the particular needs and desires of the individual or the couple and can be adjusted to the demands of a "relatively unalterable" set of socioeconomic conditions. Family limitation is presented as the intelligent course of action for parents. The family researcher turned teacher seems to have taken a stand with those advocating the extension of birth control. This was his stand prior to the population explosion scare. Such a problem solution seems consistent with his emphasis on interpersonal rela-

tions. He has not allied himself with those who have seen modifica-
tion of environmental conditions as a part of the solution to the
problem.[15]

WHILE the family sociologist has restricted his research attention
largely to personal and interpersonal behavior, it is not quite cor-
rect to say that he has accepted society as a given. He has felt free to
criticize traditional cultural and social patterns. "At the present time
a more constructive approach, based upon research material, is called
for, rather than a continued flouting of the mores." [16]

> Frequently one finds social scientists paying lip service to objec-
> tivity while waging ideological warfare . . . . Professional students
> of society may give vent to all sorts of partisan views about current
> affairs while they delude themselves about devotion to the ideals of
> science . . . .
>
> This ideological thinking of the sociologist . . . is partly expli-
> cable in terms of the dialectical process. Noting that the mores con-
> tain irrationalities, gross generalizations and many other illogical
> elements, one may easily fall prey to the unwarranted conclusion
> that diametrically opposed beliefs will be rational, logical, scientific.
> If the mores are looked upon as the thesis, then this type of naive
> sociology becomes the antithesis . . . emotionalism may be generated
> on both sides . . . conventional irrationality and . . . unconventional
> irrationality.
>
> Ideological thinking antithetical to the mores may be considered
> 'progressive' by its adherents. Progressivism is here defined as a
> social-philosophical orientation which tends to approve those social
> movements and trends that diminish the influence of the traditional
> sexual and family norms. . . .
>
> . . . objectivity would be greatly enhanced if there were more
> explicit formulation of ideological attachments instead of implicit
> valuations covered over by a deceptive terminology.[17]

As we near or have reached the point of a perfect conception con-
trol method, two problems still face us as a nation and as a world—
a technological one and a moral one. In other words, shall we put
it into practice? How shall we put it into practice? The technological
question is relatively easily resolved since it involves techniques of

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[15] Claude C. Bowman, "Hidden Valuations in the Interpretation of Sexual and
Family Relationships," *American Sociological Review*, 11:542 (Oct., 1946).
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 540.   [17] *Ibid.*, pp. 543–44.

instruction and dissemination of fairly well developed birth control methods. The moral question is the plaguing one.

I think the answer of American family researchers, if they were polled, would be: Yes, we should employ birth restriction and it cannot come too soon. But why would American family researchers vote in this way? I submit that it would be because of humanitarian or humanistic ideological tendencies rather than from generalizations verified through empirical research.

MAJOR opposition to various types of population control and various techniques of population control has come from the church—more specifically the Roman Catholic Church. A basic difference between theology and the ideology of family research lies in the ultimacy of the questions raised. Theology attempts to understand the meaning of the whole. It raises issues that extend beyond the more limited personal and interpersonal concerns of the family researcher.[18]

The value assumptions of Roman Catholic theology are explicit. Catholic theology states that there is a natural law that is the law of God. Man can know this law through reason. It is his obligation when he has discovered God's intentions through the natural law to follow them in faith. This law is not contingent. The church's job is to explain it, not to break it. Though the outcome may not appear to be rationally sound, nevertheless the outcome must be left to God.

The "population explosion" scare is condemned as a phrase used to "provide a smoke screen behind which a moral evil may be foisted on the public and for obscuring the many factors that must be considered in this vital question." [19]

> The position of the United States Catholics (according to the recent statement of the American bishops) . . . is grounded in the natural law . . . and in respect for the human person, his origin, freedom, responsibility and destiny . . . . The thus far hidden reservoirs of science and of the earth unquestionably will be uncovered in this era of marvels and offered to humanity by dedicated persons with faith in mankind, and not by those seeking shortcuts to comfort at the expense of the heritage of their own or other peoples.

[18] Harvey J. D. Seifert, "Theology and Social Science *en Rapport?" Review of Religious Research*, 2:62–69 (Fall, 1960).

[19] *Population Bulletin*, 16:20–23 (Jan., 1960).

If family researchers enter the debate over population control, we should be as true to the postulates of science as the Roman Catholic theologian is to his conception of the natural law.

If we assume for the purposes of discussion that sociologists qua family researchers (and perhaps sociologists in general) have withdrawn too far from purely sociological concerns in theory and in research, then what of the future? I see no reason for undue pessimism.

First, we have our own able critics within the profession to keep us from becoming camplacent about our limited purview. I have only to refer to the work of Claude Bowman, Paul Furfey, Reuben Hill, A. H. Hobbs, William L. Kolb, and John L. Thomas, to mention a few.[20]

Secondly, there are hopeful signs for a broader focus of attention growing out of the influence of structural-functional theory on family theory and research. There is evidence that the attention of some family sociologists has been drawn away from so complete a concern with personal and interpersonal behavior to a focus on society as a social system. It is too early to evaluate its effect, particularly on the focus of research, but one cannot suppress some excitement over emerging frames of reference as one finds them in Woods, *The American Family System*,[21] and especially in the introductory essay by Bell and Vogel in *A Modern Introduction to the Family*.[22]

Thirdly, we do have at least one case of family researchers making a unique contribution to the formulation of population policy that might serve as something of a model for family researchers in the continental United States. I refer to the work of Reuben Hill, Kurt W. Back, and J. Mayone Stycos in Puerto Rico.[23]

In the fourth place, there is a possibility of family researchers affirming the postulates of science as well as the postulates of some particular social philosophy for the precise purpose of working out

[20] Bowman, *op. cit.*, Furfey, *op. cit.*; Reuben Hill, "Marriage and Family Research: A Critical Evaluation," *Eugenics Quarterly*, 1:13–19 (Mar., 1954); A. H. Hobbs, *The Claims of Sociology: A Critique of Textbooks* (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stockpole Co., 1951); Kolb, *op. cit.*; Thomas, *op. cit.*

[21] Sister Frances Jerome Woods, *The American Family System* (New York: Harper, 1959).

[22] Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), *A Modern Introduction to the Family* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960).

[23] These three jointly directed the project on the Family in Puerto Rico and authored *The Family and Population Control: A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1959).

the theoretical and empirical implications of the various social philosophies. What might the outcome be if one were to assume the validity of the traditional American (and in a sense both humanistic and Judaic-Christian) belief in the freedom of man? William Kolb has suggested this possibility without direct reference to the family, however:

> Might it not be possible to revolutionize functional theory by treating societies as instrumentalities through which men attempt to achieve their ultimate values? . . . If we believe that we are free by nature we can support an institutional structure of freedom; and a sociology which recognizes human freedom, can itself serve its original purpose of enlightenment and emancipation.[24]

Such an approach might consider the implications of social philosophy calling for a free but morally responsible man, as well as the implications of the more personal, autonomous, hedonistic approach which has been partially formulated by a number of American students of the family, including Robert Harper, Albert Ellis, Ira Reiss, Alfred Kinsey, and others.[25]

Or, to take a lead from the statement of aims of the American Catholic Sociological Society, what are "the sociological implications of the Catholic thought pattern"? In the words of Sister Mary Jeanine, in her presidential address to the Society, the Catholic sociologist might "bring the concepts of theology and philosophy which have a bearing on his interpretation of Catholic social life within the range of his science of society.[26] A notable example of this attempt to embrace both the postulates of science and the postulates of a social philosophy is Thomas' *The American Catholic Family*. A rationale for this approach is spelled out in the preface to his book.[27]

[24] William Kolb, "Freedom and Determinism in Sociology," (Minnesota Conference of Christianity in Higher Education, 1960), p. 8. Mimeographed.

[25] Robert A. Harper, "Marriage Counseling and the Mores: A Critique," *Marriage and Family Living,* 21:13–18 (Feb., 1959); Albert Ellis, *The American Sexual Trend* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1954); Ira L. Reiss, *Premarital Sexual Standards in America* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960); Alfred Kinsey, *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948); and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953).

[26] Sister Mary Jeanine, "The Catholic Sociologist and the Catholic Mind," *American Catholic Sociological Review,* 16:2–9 (Mar., 1956).

[27] John L. Thomas, *The American Catholic Family* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1956).

Finally, there is evidence of infiltration of family ideology, theory, and research from Europe, where study of the family from the institutional point of view and analysis of the "family in community" is more in vogue.[28] Cross fertilization in theory and methodology could result in better balance in the family research of both continents.

Gustavus Adolphus College

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[28] E. Z. Dager, "A Review of Family Research in 1958," *Marriage and Family Living*, 21:287–99 (Aug., 1959); Evelyn Millis Duvall, "International Conference on the Family," *Marriage and Family Living*, 23: 12–14 (Feb., 1961); and Reuben Hill, "Sociology of Marriage and Family Behavior, 1945–56," *Current Sociology*, 7:1–98 (1958).

A Symposium on
Values in Demographic Research:
Discussion[*]

JOHN J. KANE

PROFESSOR Cowgill has attempted to explore the influence of an individual's values upon the selection of a research problem, his research design, the presentation of data and his findings or conclusions. He has done this by a rather extensive examination of literature dealing with migration ranging from the sociologist to the novelist. By and large he exonerates the sociologist, particularly the contemporary sociologist, from this type of bias, although this may actually be an example of the influence of an individual's values or value judgments.

It is really impossible to do justice to Professor Cowgill's paper both because of its length and its exhaustive citation of sources. But I believe that two points are pertinent. First, is it ever possible to reduce the question of migration to such simple terms as "Is migration good or bad?" The second point, subsumed under the first, and which incidentally Professor Cowgill did not neglect, is the influence of social change on attitudes toward migration.

Professor Theodore Newcomb in his text, "Social Psychology," informs the student at the outset that certain types of questions such as, "Is war inevitable?" or, "Is man competitive?" cannot be answered in the form in which they are asked. Rather, it is necessary to ask, "Is war inevitable given certain kinds of circumstances?" or,

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"Is man competitive under certain types of circumstances?" So migration, if one examines it from the viewpoint of social science, may be good, bad, or indifferent depending upon the circumstances under which it occurs. To push this a bit further, and Professor Cowgill did exactly this, one may also ask whether it is good for the migrant, good for the employer, good for the community, or bad for any or all, or indifferent to any or all. Furthermore, today social scientists would be chary of explaining juvenile delinquency or any other condition, which is usually considered a social problem, on the basis of unitary causation such as migration. As the speaker quite properly indicated, when migration is associated with certain other conditions, such as poverty, minority group membership, or mental illness, situations resulting from it must be analyzed in terms of all these factors, not merely migration.

In turning to the second point, it should be noted that social change is not a condition from which the sociologist himself is free. While he may describe and analyze the impact of social changes on society and its institutions, it should not be forgotten that he, too, as well as his discipline, is involved in such influences. Perhaps this is a somewhat kindlier manner in which to analyze the research of earlier American sociologists. It is well known that in this country sociology entered the academic halls via the back door. Originally it was much less an analysis of social problems than a reputed panacea for them. In fact, one is somewhat amazed at the relatively large number of clergymen and journalists who turned sociologist. In both of these occupations the reformer spirit has never been very far beneath the surface, and sometimes quite overt. The very ethos of early sociology, as well as the training afforded the prospective sociologist, not to mention historical precedents, as Professor Cowgill did, tended to cause these practitioners to view migration as something bad or something of a social problem.

While I lack empirical evidence for this next statement, it is the result of observation and I believe entirely acceptable. If we exempt officers in the armed services, most migrants of the past were apt to be migratory workers with a low social and economic status. Today, we have large numbers of people, particularly junior executives or college graduates in trainee programs, who will move from community to community during their first six to ten years with a company. While they have not yet attained a high social and economic

position, they are on the way, or at least they tend to believe they are on the way upward. If the sociologist or other observers today tend to look upon migrants more favorably, at least part of the explanation is the social class differences of migrants in the past and present, albeit even today many migrants do occupy the lower levels of American society.

In concluding my remarks on Professor Cowgill's paper, I should like to modify one of his remarks regarding the influence of values on the selection of a research topic. Much research does depend upon the personal predilections of the researcher, but increasingly larger projects seem to depend as much, if indeed not considerably more, upon the value judgments of large foundations which furnish research money. In the case of masters' and doctoral dissertations—a rather large and sometimes significant segment of current research —the selection of a topic may depend upon the persuasion of a professor, his less direct influence or, unfortunately at times perhaps, little short of a command.

Professor Floyd M. Martinson's paper, "Value Assumptions in Family Research with Reference to Population," is particularly challenging and stimulating to me in that I feel it is somewhat controversial. He has pointed out the various eras of sociological research in the family within the United States and has rather aptly indicated that today such research is as much psychologically or social-psychologically oriented as it is sociologically, and in some cases considerably more so. This raises a basic question which has long occupied attention among members of the American Catholic Sociological Society. Put rather simply, it is this: What is or ought to be the relationship between sociology on the one hand, and theology and philosophy on the other? Obviously among members of the American Catholic Sociological Society philosophy refers to scholastic philosophy and theology to Roman Catholic theology, although many would be quite willing to carry the discussion further. Ultimately, it refers to the question, which perhaps has never been satisfactorily answered but which has now almost reached the stage of a cliche: the function of the sociologist. If his exclusive function were analysis of society, to put it rather broadly, problems would be nonexistent. But as both Professor Cowgill and Professor Martinson indicate, most sociologists have never been completely adverse to making positive and sometimes even dogmatic recom-

mendations on the basis of their findings. In the past, at least one very prominent American sociologist frequently warned of "the Yellow Peril." While recommendations today are likely to be somewhat more subtle, and the one last mentioned would be absolutely *verboten,* they still are offered.

But one must also take issue with certain religious leaders and religiously minded persons who ignore or reject respectable empirical studies in sociology. In certain quarters there is a firm conviction that a large family means a happy family, a statement by no means firmly supported by research. Some Catholic authors, including some sociologists who are Catholics, because of their theological opposition to absolute divorce, almost gleefully blame all juvenile delinquency on absolute divorce. In some cases, of course, this may be a factor; in others it is not. But even when it is a factor, because of our multiple causation approach, it is probable that many other factors are at work. While the conflict between religion and physical science is largely passé, the conflict between religion and social science is by no means a dead issue. Neither will it be simply resolved in a nation with over 250 religious denominations and sects. The very nature of sociological research in many areas is closely related to philosophical and theological beliefs. In fact, one may go so far as to state that much material in contemporary sociology today was the exclusive property of the philosopher and theologian in the not so distant past, albeit the latter did not employ empirical methods of research.

On a practical level this may reflect the relative immaturity of sociology because of its recent historical development on the one hand, and the resentment of other disciplines which feel sociologists are now poaching on their preserves. But this explanation alone is a bit too naive. There are far deeper currents of theoretical and methodological differences to be considered. To generalize, and hopefully not too far, some sociologists tend to be the harbingers of social change; many, but not all, philosophers and theologians tend to defend the status quo. There are obvious shortcomings in both positions. Urbanization and industrialization have long since outmoded the reputedly idealistic rural-farm family type. Roles of spouses, family, and children have been greatly modified even within two generations. Yet there are certain basic elements essential to stable, successful family life. No society, not to mention an individual fam-

ily, can exist on the basis of completely unrestrained individual freedom for each person to do as he wishes. Yet some family text books at least intimate that this is possible.

American sociologists have long been criticized and been critical of themselves for failure to develop theories. Perhaps they may also consider their failure to take a broader view of their field. Small "researches," although methodologically sound and quite accurate in their findings, are perhaps less susceptible to projection than they seem. Too often, a consciously restrained and strongly hedged statement in the beginning of a research report becomes a dogmatic generalization toward the conclusion. Here, it seems to me, is one aspect of the problem Professor Martinson has so ably presented.

University of Notre Dame

BOOK REVIEWS

SCANDINAVIAN STUDENTS ON AN AMERICAN CAMPUS. By William H. Sewell and Oluf M. Davidsen. *Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. 143 pp. $3.50.*

THE TWO-WAY MIRROR: NATIONAL STATUS IN FOREIGN STUDENTS' ADJUSTMENT. By Richard T. Morris, with the assistance of Oluf M. Davidsen. *Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960. 227 pp. $4.50.*

THESE two volumes are the latest publications in the series sponsored by the Social Science Research Council Committee on Cross-Cultural Education. Both are characterized by methodological sophistication, and each makes a contribution to sociology as well as to the understanding of foreign students in American universities.

Sewell and Davidsen "explore the academic and social adjustment processes and outcomes of foreign study . . . by focusing intensively on forty students from Scandinavia who were attending the University of Wisconsin during 1952–54." Davidsen, himself a graduate student from Denmark at the time, interviewed each student four times—as soon after arrival as possible, just before departure, and twice in between. The interviews, averaging an hour or more, were recorded and transcribed verbatim, resulting in protocols ranging from 50 to 235 pages. (The interview guide and excerpts from protocols are included in the Appendix.) The study also profited from Davidsen's unique opportunity to be a participant observer in the Scandinavian students' informal social gatherings. Additional data were gathered from teachers, advisers, and university records. Both quantitative and descriptive analyses resulted from the data processing.

Since Scandinavians come from a culture where university students are considered mature enough to manage their own lives, it is not surprising to learn that they experienced culture shock in adjusting to American practices. Required courses, compulsory class attendance, frequent examinations, and objective tests as well as the strict supervision of students' social and moral behavior proved *ennuyant*. Despite these initial feelings of relative deprivation the Scandinavian students generally adjusted well to university life, earning somewhat higher grades than their American peers. They responded favorably to the informal student-faculty relations and evaluated their educational experiences positively by the end of their stay.

In participating in campus and community social life, the students initially were almost overwhelmed by the friendliness and open hospitality; however, later they began to question the sincerity of American social relation-

ships. The students were more in agreement in viewing American friendships as "shallow" than on any other topic mentioned during the interviews —a finding consonant with data from other studies of foreign students in the United States. Despite individual differences in patterns of social participation among the students, Sewell and Davidsen isolated four social behavior types: *enthusiastic participants* in American life, *detached observers* who focused on technical academic pursuits, *promoters* of home country, and *settlers*. It is regrettable that the authors did not provide more explicit analysis of the covariation of these categories with other variables under consideration; however, in view of the exploratory nature of the research, the authors' suggestions regarding these types are in themselves a contribution providing a background for more systematic study.

In processing the data from this research, independent coders rated the Scandinavian students on thirty-three background, personality, and situational variables. Six of these factors dealing with goals of educational interchange (e.g., academic adjustment and final impressions) were selected as outcome variables with which the remaining twenty-seven independent variables were correlated. Among the variables correlating highly and positively with desired outcomes of the sojourn experience were facility in English, previous contact with American culture, lack of preoccupation with home culture, indefiniteness about career plans, personal flexibility, dependency, and the amount of formal and informal guidance a student received. A high and consistent interrelationship among the outcome variables themselves was also found, suggesting that achievements in one area lead to favorable outcomes in other areas, or possibly that there is some "process or mechanism at work which promotes

success in general in cross-cultural education."

Sewell and Davidsen's monograph is the last of the SSRC exploratory studies in cross-cultural education. Morris' work is the first—and possibly the only book-length report—in the series designed to investigate systematically a limited number of variables found important in the earlier research. Stimulated by Lambert and Bressler's finding that Indian students at the University of Pennsylvania were intensely sensitive to perceived slights of their homeland, Morris chose to "test the proposition that national status is an important determinant of the adjustment of foreign students during their stay in another country." His chief aim was "to elaborate and extend stratification theory to the area of cross-cultural education." His findings bring fresh insights to stratification theory as well as to the understanding of problems confronting cross-cultural educational sojourners.

In analyzing national status Morris used four categories: subjective status (how the student ranks his own country vis-à-vis others), perceived accorded status (where he thinks Americans rank his country), actual accorded status (by American students), and objective status (based on level of education as reported in a United Nations document). He measured adjustment in terms of favorableness to the United States, personal satisfaction with the stay here, satisfaction with the educational and training facilities, and amount and kind of social contact with Americans. Great imagination was used in constructing the questionnaire—from solving problems of format to selection of items to define operationally the important variables. Similarly, sensitivity to the problems and preoccupations of foreign students was shown in the handling of rapport—use of interviewers who spoke languages other than English, use of

two interviewers who had been foreign students, and a skillful blending of interview and questionnaire approaches. This behind-th.-scenes drama of research is well portrayed in Chapter 2.

The population studied was the foreign student body of 364 at U.C.L.A. Completed and usable questionnaires were obtained from 87 per cent (318). The author wisely warns against extrapolation of his findings to other groups of foreign students unless due caution is exercised.

It had been hypothesized that national status variables would be more important in determining the adjustment of foreign students to their environment than would such factors as personal status, personal flexibility, personal frustration, and communication skills and opportunities. It was proposed that involvement of the student with his home country would increase the status-adjustment relationship; that gain or loss of status would be more effective than absolute position; that a high or low status starting point for the change would be important; that national status satisfaction would be related to adjustment regardless of other factors.

Several of the central hypotheses were not confirmed (e.g., high perceived accorded national status is not significantly associated with favorableness toward the United States), and occasionally the opposite of a predicted relationship proved true (e.g., in comparison with students from developed countries, those from underdeveloped areas tend to be more favorable to the United States but less satisfied with their stay here). Negative findings, however, had a positive outcome, for they prompted Morris to reanalyze the data and present alternative hypotheses for subsequent testing.

An impressive number of hypotheses were supported by significant findings. In general, national status considera-

tions affected favorableness toward the United States, while personal flexibility and contact with Americans led to satisfaction with the sojourn in this country. Among research generalizations which can be tested in other settings is the following: ". . . the lowering of status through the introduction of new criteria by new ascribers results in negative attitudes toward those ascribers but not in lowered morale or enjoyment of the position."

The substantive data of *The Two-Way Mirror* are inherently interesting. For example, 80 per cent of the foreign students at U.C.L.A. regard America and Americans favorably, 87 per cent express satisfaction with their social experience in this country, and 92 per cent indicate approval of their academic life. In addition to the findings discussed in the text, a sixty-one–page appendix presents the entire Interview Guide with the distribution of responses according to composite categories involving the students' national origin, English language competence, and length of sojourn.

In any work as provocative and as detailed as this, each reader will find points of disagreement. For instance, more frequent analyses employing multivariate statistical procedures might have clarified ambiguous data and given even further strength to Morris' arguments. Similarly, in both volumes under review, the authors' interpretations would have been enriched by consideration of Coelho's penetrating research on shifting reference group orientations of Indian students in the United States.

But it would be caviling to ask for more than these two books give us. For many social scientists the reviewers believe these will be the most seminal publications to date in the cross-cultural education series.

JOHN T. *and* JEANNE E. GULLAHORN
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THE SERVANTS OF POWER: A HISTORY OF THE USE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY. By Loren Baritz. *Middletown, Conn.:
Wesleyan University Press, 1960. 282 pp. $4.50.*

MOST impressive as one reads *The Servants of Power* is the thorough grasp by the historian-author of the technical language and problems of the industrial psychologist, sociologist, and human relations expert. Dr. Baritz' book straddles three disciplines besides his own and does so competently. The fact is that Dr. Baritz worked for a number of years in industry and knows his subject first hand. Also, in addition to the conventional library materials of scholarly work, he has drawn for his data upon voluminous personal correspondence and interviews. Thus, both in content and in method, the study has the marked flavor of behavioral science.

In an opening chapter entitled "The Need for Knowledge," the author discusses the growth of industry; the disappearance of immigrant minorities and the organization of labor; bureaucratization and the separation of ownership from management; and last, but not least, the democratized family. These changes, he showed, required that the industrial manager have social skills as well as technical ones, and that he needed help.

The next eight chapters document in great detail, and with numerous names, the help proffered in turn by psychologists, sociologists, and human relations experts, and the reactions by management to the different kinds of help offered.

The account begins with the early days of faculty psychology when Wundt first started to carry on stimulus-response experiments and his student Cattell became interested in individual differences. This is followed by an account of the rise and fall of the instinct theory. Whenever, as at this point, the narrative begins to appear merely academic, Baritz adroitly shows the relevance of what he has been recounting to the industrial scene. He describes Taylor's search for "the single best way" and discusses the strengths and weaknesses of scientific management and of the testing vogue that came out of Munsterberg's institution of industrial psychology and grew to great proportions during World War I. Two chapters are devoted to the famous Hawthorne experiments, when the importance of the group was discovered and Industrial Sociology was born. Out of this study came the practice of counseling workers, studying their attitudes, instituting training programs for foremen, and developing merit-rating tests—all of these things in strong opposition to the labor unions. Baritz criticizes the jargon of the social scientists and their attempts to overcome it. The final phase of industrial social science recounted is the Human Relations movement with its emphasis on role-playing, group thinking, participation and communication. It would not be an exaggeration to say that all the major social problems of industry were discussed and the efforts made by the social scientists to solve them evaluated. The treatment of small groups and leadership is particularly good and demonstrates a grasp of the technical problems involved that would do credit to a specialist in these areas. One cannot, however, help detecting throughout his narration a tongue-in-cheek attitude of Baritz towards the social scientists and an implication that they were beside themselves with eagerness to be identified with management and to serve them.

The book ends with a chapter on "The Servants of Power," and it is a polemic and highly controversial

chapter. Baritz argues (and demonstrates historically) that if the social scientist is to have the chance to apply his science in industry, he must not only know business as well as social science, but he must have the perspectives of management—in effect, he must be partisan; it is not possible for him to be objective and truly scientific.

All that industrial social science has become, then, according to Baritz, is manipulation of the worker on behalf of management, and it is trite to say that the social scientist does not manipulate; that he merely diagnoses situations and predicts certain outcomes if certain action is taken. Clearly, such a criticism can be relevant only to studies of social scientists that make recommendations and not to those that are purely analyses as is, for example, Wilber Moore's *Industrial Relations and The Social Order.* Baritz does cite Moore but represents his position as being more unusual than is actually the case. Even in regard to studies that make recommendations, the position taken by Everett Hughes is that manipulation is not necessarily "persuading people to do things that are bad for them, or just plain bad, or perhaps things from which the persuader will get some personal advantage." Manipulation, then, for Hughes, and for this reviewer, is not in itself reprehensible, but depends upon the aims. Though he does not state it explicitly, Dr. Baritz would probably agree with this statement, but his point is that history indicates that the industrial social scientist has never been allowed to decide the aims, that he has often pursued aims set by management that are detrimental to the worker and, as a result of greatly developing skill, now has in his "bag of schemes" the power to help management impose on millions "the most insidious and relentless form of exploitation ever dreamed of." This, says Baritz, is the service of power rather than of mind.

The Servants of Power, then, is both a history and a polemic. As history, it does a good job and would be of great use to the student in any of the areas of industrial social science in acquainting him in small but comprehensive compass of what has gone before in his discipline. The polemic, though somewhat extreme, may be a salutary warning to accomplished practitioners in the field.

DOUGLAS RENNIE
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PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Leo Kuper. *New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960. 256 pp. $1.25. Paperback.*

LEO KUPER, professor of sociology at the University of Natal and a leader of South Africa's Liberal Party, presents in this slim volume an analysis of the 1952 "campaign of defiance" in the context of South African race relations. Part I contains the setting of passive resistance—its ideological background and its sociological nature; Part II contains the historical events of the 1952 campaign and the reactions of the various sections of the population—whites, Indians, natives and coloured, clergy, politicians, etc.

The concluding chapter contains an evaluation of the effect of the passive resistance movement on South African social and political institutions.

Professor Kuper makes a probing analysis of one defiance campaign with a systematic account of different political ideologies, both white and nonwhite, revealing the broad social and political objectives which have shaped apartheid legislation. Although there were other passive resistance demonstrations during the post–World War II period, the 1952 defiance campaign

was the first broadened, co-ordinated effort of the "national organizations of African, Indian, and coloured peoples in a mass campaign for the repeal of the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, and for the withdrawal of the so-called rural rehabilitation scheme, including the policy of stock-limitation" (p. 99). The differences in the type of discrimination called for participation of volunteers of particular racial groups where the law or regulation applied: i.e., Africans are not vitally affected by the Group Areas Act, but the very existence of Indians is threatened.

Though passive resistance modeled on an ethical and political technique evolved by Mahatma Gandhi, it was regarded only compatible with Indian philosophy—an expression of Indian asceticism and quietism. It is significant to note that in South Africa passive resistance ceased to be used in the struggles since Gandhi's departure during the beginning of World War I and until the post–World War II period. This defiance movement is supported by the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress (not by any means inclusive of the existing nonwhite organizations) and some white democratic (liberal-humanitarian–oriented) organizations, which are aimed at the extension of equal rights in a common society. Passive resistance and apartheid policy imply in South Africa conflict between the nonwhites and whites; the latter are compelled to use nondemocratic means to maintain apartheid, while the nonwhites are employing passive resistance which emphasizes the importance of the means by which one achieves the goal of human dignity and justice.

To the leaders of social-action organizations, the two theoretical chapters on the ideological background to passive resistance and the sociological

nature of passive resistance are valuable. The sociopsychological analysis of the latter chapter presents insights into the technique and principle of suffering, nonco-operation, and civil disobedience. Not only does he discuss the importance of the means, but the impact of passive resistance on the individual and on society and the relevance of dominant-subordinate relationship taking Simmel's theory of whether the dominant or subordinate statuses are held by individuals or collectivities. He distinguishes passive resistance movements on the basis of the motives of the resisters: passive resistance as a weapon of the weak in the sense that the resister is not in possession of equal or superior force, and violence would not pay; and Satyagraha, evolved by Gandhi, where nonviolence is regarded as an expression of strength and the resister is motivated by a moral conviction that violence is sinful under all circumstances and relies on the moral superiority of the soul, and soul-force as against body force. The experience of South Africa in this particular situation presents for the world's leaders the problem of "whether change can indeed be effected without violence, and they will compare the results of the nonviolent resistance campaign in South Africa with those of Mau Mau in Kenya. At the present time there is both less bitterness in the ruling group in South Africa and at the same time less indication of willingness to make concessions to the nonwhites. It is a crucial issue in Africa whether Mau Mau or other forms of violence pay better than passive resistance" (p. 94).

Professor Kuper fails to make clear the power structure of the nonwhite institutions during this campaign or in general, i.e., the degree of effectiveness of one or both of the nonwhite political organizations. He does not present, with the exception of a few of the top leaders, the quality nor quan-

tity of leadership that exists; or were the five leaders who were identified the only leaders among the nonwhites? Also the line of demarcation of the legal or social category of *coloured* as distinguished from *natives* and their role in the resistance movement is difficult to comprehend.

Kuper's concluding remarks on the effect of passive resistance on South African institutions may have significant implications for many parts of the world and perhaps especially in the United States where some of the human relations and peace organizations such as CORE, Committee on Sane Nuclear Policy, etc. are trying to apply passive resistance techniques in dramatizing unequal and oppressive practices. He cautiously points out that "we cannot conclude that the resistance campaign materially influenced the pattern of institutional change" (p. 206) though it can be stated that "the main institutional changes directly linked with passive resistance relate to the more effective application

of force and repressive action" (p. 206). However, some specific changes have been brought about by the "campaign of defiance": crystallizing of public expression of antiracialist attitudes, i.e., English clergy expressing sympathy for the campaign, or the Liberal Party's and Congress of Democrats' "rejection of race as a valid criterion of social organization." The latter two organizations seem to have modified the details of the institutional changes, the tempo, and the voting in Parliament. Finally Kuper concludes with the statement that "the conflict between races in South Africa is a conflict between the exclusive ethic of apartheid and the universal ethic of democracy"; in other words, it is the whites who have become "tribal" in certain senses, while the Africans and Indians move toward a universal ethic and thus hold the key to the future.

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BECOMING MORE CIVILIZED: A PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLORATION. By Leonard W. Doob. *New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960. 333 pp. $6.00.*

GOING by past experience, Leonard Doob's name on a book is a reliable cue that the reader will find an informed, intelligent, and literate work. He can expect that diverse empirical threads will be drawn together as neatly as possible and related to the basic learning theory propositions of Yale-style social psychology. In this process, a sense of the important realities of this world will not be lost, even where the academic touch is occasionally a bit heavy; there will be no glossing over of difficulties in data or concepts. Neither in Doob's books nor in the works of most others, will the reader anticipate frequently coming across a dazzling truth made manifest or a glittering set of concepts discovered latent amid observations. However, one does not finish reading Doob without learning much of value, or without a more organized comprehension of whatever significant subject he has chosen, be it propaganda, public opinion, attitudes, co-operation and competition, or planning. *Becoming More Civilized* confirms all of these expectations in full measure.

The author's research and study tours in Africa and Jamaica and his subsequent publications, as well as his active participation in Yale's African studies program, are reflected in the central questions he poses here: "1. Why do people (in less civilized

societies) become more civilized in certain respects? 2. What happens to them as they become more civilized?" For present purposes, "civilization" is a relative term, and "refers to the culture or the way of life possessed by modern literate and industrial nations in Europe and America." But the changes with which Doob is concerned are psychological changes in *people* consequent upon culture contact, and not changes of particular institutions or of a total society.

Thus, the first inquiry has to do with the motivational bases for individuals becoming "more civilized" as against remaining "less civilized." Among the bases hypothesized are greater discontent, greater aggression, and greater development of toleration for deferred gratification. The hypotheses which are induced throughout the book and the benchmarks for assessing change are not plucked out of thin air. The stage is set for the initial and later inquiries by a chapter which deals on a necessarily highly abstracted level with "the attributes of less civilized people," and another which deals quite concretely with the principal sources of evidence. These sources are primarily studies made in Africa, Jamaica, the Middle East, and among American Indian tribes, yet Doob also ranges widely in heavily supplementing these intensively used data. He comments upon and utilizes Rorschach materials very sensibly.

A second major inquiry concerns attitudes toward people and groups, attitudes which affect the process of acquiring "more civilized" responses as well as those which flow from this learning—including the "learner's" attitudes toward the more civilized "instructor," toward his own family, toward his own group's traditional or innovating leaders, toward outsiders and those of his own group associated with the new ways, and to-

ward the traits valued in others. Significant, too, in the transition from old to new habits are changes, stabilities, and conflicts in beliefs and values as well as changes in intelligence (e.g., problem solving in novel situations, abstraction) and skills (e.g., objective judgment of time, expressive use of language). Doob treats these topics with insight and with understanding for the human being who is becoming "more civilized."

In addressing himself to personality changes, Doob points out that motivations, attitudes, beliefs, and values, intelligence and skills are all components of personality, each complexly interacting with the others. He then discusses how modal personality traits in the "less civilized" society and central goals that transcend specific forms of "more civilized" behavior to-be-learned are related to the civilizing process and thus to changes in these components; some factors which make for major difficulties in individual change are reviewed. He then takes up the question of transformation in basic personality structure. The repercussive effects of all of these changes on the "less civilized" *society* are treated thoughtfully in a short chapter, each page of which will doubtlessly tempt the Parsonian reader to deploy his intellectual armament.

Throughout, the interactions of "less civilized" learner and his "more civilized" witting or unwitting teacher, and consequently the interactions of their cultures, are kept in mind if not stressed. Even given the psychological orientation and the copious anthropological evidence and the leads which are utilized by the author, the sociologically inclined reader will find much to stimulate both thought and research.

BURTON R. FISHER
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W. E. B. DUBOIS. NEGRO LEADER IN A TIME OF CRISIS. By Francis L. Broderick. *Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, 1959. 259 pp. $5.00.*

THIS book is a biography. The author depicts the life of DuBois as a member of the "black triumvirate" in the history of the Negro in America. The volume is a vivid account of DuBois' life and his ambition to resolve racial difficulties in America by relying upon science, research, and education. He regarded the excellent education and training which he had received at Fisk, Harvard, and Berlin as the vehicle for attaining this ambition.

The triumvirate of which DuBois was a member was a consecutive one made up of Frederick Douglass (from about 1865 to 1895), who led the Negro out of slavery, Booker T. Washington (from about 1895 to 1910–15), who advocated economic security for the Negro, and DuBois (from about 1910 to the 1940's), who "insisted that the Negro become a man and a citizen," complete with a liberal education.

DuBois soon learned, however, that the "practical demands of finance," propriety, and leadership competition in the person and philosophy of Booker T. Washington were forces destined to deliver a *coup de grace* to his essentially idealistic program. Each of these forces took heavy toll in the decade 1900–1910, virtually bringing DuBois' ambition to naught. The futility of DuBois' idealism was concretely manifested in the failure of the Niagara Movement, a movement which he conceived and sponsored in the hope that it would become the voice of the Negro in America.

The Negro cause sustained a setback as a result of the failure of the Niagara Movement, but resulting losses were regained in many areas by organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910. Through the *Crisis*, the official organ of the NAACP, DuBois came to be regarded as a spokesman for the Negro in America. "The *Crisis* and the Association gave DuBois a springboard to power. In the Negro world, DuBois was the symbol of the Association and of its work" (p. 116).

The white liberals who made up the NAACP in its early years were moderates in comparison with DuBois, and it was soon learned by all that moderation could never contain DuBois; his fighting spirit was too great. If he ever were contained within the boundaries of moderation, he soon broke free, and when he did, he joined greater and more powerful forces in the world serving the cause of upgrading minority peoples. DuBois became international, his battlefield was the world, his adversaries were imperialism and colonialism, and he fought on behalf of disfranchised groups everywhere.

His distrust of white liberals grew, and as it did, DuBois withdrew into his own racial group, in thought and action. He became obsessed with the notion that the cause of the Negro was the Negro's work, and that he, the Negro, had to do it. He advocated the building of a "new and great Negro ethos," expressed in art, pageant, paint, and prose. He himself nurtured this magnificent obsession by producing drama and poetry. At this time, DuBois, the man, thought of himself as the voice of the Negro world, a world part real, part imaginary. Paradoxically, twenty or thirty years earlier, a single spokesman for the "Negro nation" may have been possible, but the liberal education which DuBois had so strongly advocated had taken root, "and in a race with

hundreds of leaders, one or two men could not speak for the entire group" (p. 176).

As leader-spokesmen often do, Du-Bois broke with his moorings (the NAACP) and lost touch with his followers. Having earlier taught at Atlanta University, he resumed his pursuit of scholarship. He had served in the role of propagandist so long, however, that he was unable to make the transition from propagandist to scholar, and ultimately this cost him his Atlanta post.

DuBois' decline as the major spokesman for the Negro was an important factor in the shift of his major concern from race action to world uplift. The shift in concern was virtually complete, so much so that Broderick entitles Chapter VIII, "The Eclipse of Race."

DuBois' efforts in behalf of world human uplift led many to suspect him of leftist connections. However, the facts suggest a simple parallelism in thought and expression rather than a real alliance. No one informed on DuBois' career would seriously doubt that he ever was anything but an arch independent, sometimes, purely for independence' sake.

Broderick concludes in Chapter IX by identifying two main contributions made by DuBois to American life: "First, for thirty years he made himself the loudest [and most able] voice in demanding equal rights for the Negro and in turning Negro opinion away from acceptance of anything less" (p. 230). Second, "when Washington was training Negro youth for manual work, DuBois held high the ideal of a liberal education" (p. 230).

This book is a well written account of the life of a great American. Its analysis is penetrating, its style is excellent; it belongs on the shelves of the American sociologist and the American historian.

ANSEL P. SIMPSON
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LITTLE ROCK, U.S.A. Edited by Wilson Record and Jane Cassels Record. *San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1960. 338 pp. $2.25.*

THIS excellent book of readings differs from most books of readings in that it is not intended either to supplement a textbook or to supplant one. Rather, there is here gathered a large number of short source materials relating to a single area of interest, such material as might be needed by an upper-class student in sociology for a term paper or special project relating to the integration of the high schools in Little Rock, Arkansas.

The particular usefulness of this book is that it culls out and selects from a great many repetitive and unreliable sources; it makes it possible for a number of students to work on the same topic at the same time, whereas the materials in the original are such that this would not be feasible; it gathers and presents some useful source materials which it would be otherwise impossible for the average student to read; it presents in detail information on how to write a term paper and to document it.

The basis for study is the Little Rock story. The Records state in their Foreword: "We have here assembled facts and interpretations of the story. Our concern is not so much with what happened as with why it happened, what it signifies, and what its consequences will be. For that reason our collection of material begins with the Supreme Court's seminal school decisions of 1954–55 and comes foreward through the opening of Central High School in August 1959 . . . . The material presented provides a wide-

lens view of the Little Rock drama in its various dimensions—political, judicial, economic, ideological, psychological, sociological, religious, moral."

The readings are presented in two approximately equal sections. The first is arranged chronologically and consists of entire documents, abbreviated documents, or summaries of the original sources. This section seems factual more than interpretive and presents the flow of action over a four-year period. While many sources are used, the Records lean especially heavily on the *Southern School News,* but since that is the best single factual source available, this is not an objection. Their next two most common sources seem to be the *Arkansas Gazette* and the *Race Relations Law Reporter.* Readings range from such classic items as summaries of the Supreme Court rulings of 1954 and 1955 and the Southern Manifesto to such ephemeral sources as bulletins published by the Faubus Campaign Committee. In general the choice of selections in this section is superior.

The second section is not chronological but is a "spectrum of opinion."

As such it includes less in the way of facts and more in the way of diverse opinions. These opinions are drawn from Letters to the Editor, spokesmen for the NAACP, spokesmen for White Citizens Councils, articles from *Harper's, Phylon, U.S. News and World Report, Christian Century. The Reporter, Look, The Atlantic, New South, The Solid South,* and many other sources. Some of these seem trivial, others are highly useful in understanding the tenor of the times in Little Rock and other areas of the South. One of the most disturbing and disheartening aspects to this reader was the clear indication of the inability of moderates to achieve any compromise, and in fact the inability of moderates to stay moderates in the emotion-stirring times reported.

For a person interested in learning from primary source data what happened in Little Rock, and especially for students who must both learn and report on their learning, this book is highly recommended.

JOHN H. BURMA
Grinnell College

STUDIES ON THE POPULATION OF CHINA, *1368–1953.* By Ping-ti Ho. *Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. 333 pp. $6.00.*

THAT the Chinese population multiplied and grew continuously during the last several hundred years is not a matter of dispute. It increased, according to Dr. Ho, from around 100,-000,000 in about A.D. 1100 to an estimated total of about 430,000,000 in 1850. This growth was, however, concomitant neither with industrialization nor with improved medical knowledge and services as in the recent demographic history of the West. Instead, the culprits, as it were, proved to be changes in land utilization brought about, in large measure, by the introduction of such important alien plants as maize, Irish potatoes, sweet po-

tatoes, and peanuts. This thesis is well documented by the author as is the fact that there were extensive interregional migrations of peasants and others in search of new opportunities for agricultural settlement. This latter finding refers to population movements particularly in the provinces along the Yangtze and south of the great river, and should serve to attenuate somewhat the common belief that all Chinese peasants are born and die on the same spot.

An important question arises, however, in connection with this internal migration in China. If it was of such magnitude as the author indicates, it

is puzzling how local dialects remained so distinct.

One must also, of course, be aware of the fact that there are inevitable dangers whenever one attempts to make quantitative generalizations on the basis of qualitative information. It is not statistics or figures that are lacking in this volume, and there are many. However, they are used to supplement a large number of local histories which furnish not only some of the figures, but also many of the insights, clues, and the framework within which they are interpreted. These gazettes obviously were prepared by scholars, and also probably others of lesser competence, under a variety of circumstances and over an extended period of more than five centuries. Whether or not they are of uniform validity and reliability would seem to be a legitimate question—a question which was apparently not explicitly considered. This notwithstanding, their use enabled the author to explore fresh avenues of clarification of past Chinese population trends and to locate some of their socioeconomic determinants and consequences.

The reader will find that, of the numerous footnotes placed at the end of the volume, one (Ch. VI, no. 68) refers to a nonexistent section in the chapter that follows. If this particular flaw (apparently a typographical error) should cause any indignation at all, one can in comparison only guess how the author must have felt while he labored to produce this volume in the face of the staggering amount of omissions, exaggerations, contradictions, distortions, and outright fabrications in Chinese population and land statistics. One, therefore, cannot but praise the author for the sense of order and meaning he has achieved out of the confusion, and this book is certainly a milestone in the understanding of the sociodemographic history of China.

H. YUAN TIEN
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

COMMUNITY POLITICAL SYSTEMS. Edited by Morris Janowitz. *Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. 259 pp. $7.50.*

THIS collection of studies is Volume I of the International Yearbook of Political Behavior Research. This series will be edited by Heinz Eulau.

The studies in this volume are the product of the reciprocal influence of a number of trends. (1) The years since World War II have seen an explosive population growth in American metropolitan centers. The degree of functional integration within these geographic areas has become ever greater. The political units have jurisdiction over areas whose boundaries are not only not coterminous with that of the functional unit but are superimposed one upon another. The result has been the appearance of the "metropolitan problem." Political scientists, with their devotion to the rationalities of public administration, have led the attempt to bring political and administrative unity to these areas. (2) Sociologists, as they are wont to do, have rediscovered the problem of the distribution of power in the local community. Floyd Hunter's *Community Power Structure* reopened the issue. The last few years have seen a spate of studies of the power structure of local communities. (3) Since World War II, political scientists have discovered what they call political behavior research. This is not a new field but an approach which insists on the unity of theory and research. The tools and findings of the other social sciences, particularly sociology, are being increasingly used to reassess older approaches in political science.

Morris Janowitz points out in his editorial introduction that "common theoretical elements in these research papers exists because their frame of reference is compatible . . . with the orientation outlined by Max Weber in his classic essay on 'Class, Status, and Party.' The central problematic issue is an analysis of the limitations which confront economic leadership in the exercise of political power."

Robert O. Schulze, in "The Bifurcation of Power in a Satellite City," reports on the power structure of a midwestern city of 20,000, just beyond the Standard Metropolitan Area of a large urban center. From 1823 until the 1930's, the economic dominants of the community were also the political decision-makers. Since the 1930's, economic dominants have withdrawn both interest and participation in community political decision-making. A large measure of autonomy has accrued to public leaders who are not economic dominants in direction of community affairs. The economic dominants maintain their potential for control. This unused potential vitiates the decisiveness of the actions of political leaders. Schulze believes that the withdrawal of economic dominants from responsible involvement in government threatens to undermine their claims to legitimacy as "community leaders" and to subvert the viability of community life.

Harry Scoble's "Leadership Hierarchies and Political Issues in a New England Town" is an examination of the concentration of power in Bennington, Vermont. No single power unit existed. The community had a multiplicity of power centers. Factionalism among economic dominants enabled the voter to exercise considerable power by choosing among competing blocs.

Peter H. Rossi and Phillips Cutright's "The Impact of Party Organization in an Industrial Setting" is an attempt to assess the effectiveness of party organization in an industrial community with a racially heterogeneous population and a patronage system for filling many public offices. They found that the benefits and services of municipal government were distributed by the party in power to those areas of the city where these "gifts" would return the greatest support for the party.

Amos Hawley and Basil G. Zimmer's "Resistance to Unification in a Metropolitan Community" raises the question, "What are the roots of the resistance to the establishment of a single municipal government over the entire metropolitan community?" The question is answered with data obtained from the metropolitan area of Flint, Michigan. Residents of suburban areas are aware of and critical of service inadequacies. They recognize the need for the enlargement of government functions and are willing to pay. But this does not lead them to desire merger with the central city. The majority would place these impossible burdens on governments in fringe areas. Resistance to government reorganization and unification rests largely on ignorance of government and what can be expected of it.

Scott Greer's "Dilemmas of Action Research on the Metropolitan Problem" is a natural history of the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey. For those social scientists who worked on this survey, the principal dilemma was "the poverty of conceptual beginnings and systematic information concerning metropolitan government. Thus the Survey, although an exercise in the application of social science to a policy question, was forced to operate as an intellectual enterprise focused upon basic research." The basic research was principally a sample survey of 1,800 citizens used in lieu of reliable information about the nature and patterning of influence in the area. This is not meant to be a snide re-

ticles dealing with this concept. It remains to be seen whether this term will become incorporated into the mazeways of other social scientists. Meanwhile, this reviewer is not convinced that this group of theoretical articles heralds a significant new approach in this field.

The more worth-while articles in the book, from the reviewer's point of view, are not the abstract discussions but rather some studies which apply a particular theoretical approach to some substantive material. For instance, Roger G. Barker and Louise Shedd Barker in "Behavior Units for the Comparative Study of Cultures" make a comparison of child behavior systems in two towns, one in Kansas, the other in Yorkshire, England. As units for study in these two areas they propose what they call "behavior settings." Their plan of investigation is well set forth, and the conclusions given are interesting and refreshingly unexpected.

Another of the outstanding articles in this volume, as far as the reviewer is concerned, is "Symbolic Analysis in the Cross-Cultural Study of Personality" by George de Vos. Since this review is already too long, there is room only to list the names of the other contributors, some of whose articles are excellent. There are method-

ological and theoretical articles by Daniel R. Miller, Dell H. Hymes, Donald A. Kennedy, Daniel Lerner, G. Morris Carstairs, Albert I. Rabin, William E. Henry, and Robert R. Sears. Talcott Parsons provides a translation of Freudian theory into sociological lingo. Stanley Elkins gives an analysis of the psychological effects of the experience of slavery upon the American Negro. Dorothy Eggan and John J. Honigmann deal with dream analysis, George Devereux and Weston LaBarre discuss art and mythology, and there is an interpretive sketch of a rural Thai by Lucien M. Hanks, Jr., and Herbert R. Phillips.

The book is recommended to anyone seriously interested in the field of culture-and-personality and belongs on the shelf along with the anthologies of Douglas G. Haring and Kluckhohn, Murray, and Schneider. It is not recommended as an introductory text for undergraduate courses, since much of it presupposes prior knowledge of the subject, but it would probably make a good text for graduate courses and seminars. The abundant bibliographies in the volume will be of help to anyone who wishes to master the field, or some part of it.

VICTOR BARNOUW
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

THE SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie. *New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960. 678 pp. $6.50.*

DISREGARDING the somewhat hoary argument on whether or not social problems are part of sociology, one can say without any serious reservation that Horton and Leslie have written an excellent text book. I have tested a portion of its content and its approach in my courses and I have found it to be highly suitable. It covers the usual gamut of social problems: Crime, Delinquency, Family, Re-

ligion, Population, Education, Social Class, Race, Urban, Rural, Communication, Personal Pathologies, Health, War, and Civil Liberties. The omission of some problems and the inclusion of others may be subject to criticism. However, every teacher of social problems will realize that Horton and Leslie's selections are, to say the least, adequate. Each chapter is tightly organized and subdivided into head-

ings and subheadings. Each principle, law, fact, or significant conclusion is italicized. A summary terminates each chapter. These, plus "Readings" and "Questions and Projects," at the end of each chapter, make it easy for students to read and follow and understand.

The objectivity of the book and its up-to-dateness are its special assets. No axes are ground and no principles are propounded when there is no empirical basis for them. Admittedly a number of questions, hypothetical though they may be, are raised in conjunction with social problems or aspects of social problems that are controversial. This is as it should be since it makes the student think.

The authors do not have a clear cut, rigid orientation or frame of reference. It is questionable whether one exists or can be devised to satisfy all who would use the book. As the authors have expressed it, the primary purpose of the book is to help the student "develop skills in collecting and interpreting the scattered social data which they will continually encounter."

As an alleged writer of introductory texts, the reviewer fully realizes how difficult it is to write a satisfactory, much less good, book in the area of social problems. He can, therefore, appreciate a job well done.

The book is readable and yet it does not condescend to the level of the senior in high school. Its format and printing are achievements for which the publishers should be commended.

Any one who contemplates changing texts in his course on social problems would make a wise move if he would consult Horton and Leslie's *The Sociology of Social Problems.*

CLEMENT S. MIHANOVICH
Saint Louis University

ARCHAEOLOGY AND SOCIETY. By Grahame Clark. *New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961. 272 pp. $1.95.*

Archaeology and Society was first published in 1939 and quickly became something of a classic in its field. It has now been revised and enlarged by Dr. Clark and reissued in paperback format by University Paperbacks. Throughout the book, Clark emphasizes the cultural and historical interpretation of archaeological materials. He begins by tracing the development of prehistoric archaeology as a discipline, enumerating the qualities needed for archaeological research, and the changes in attitude and procedure which have occurred in the field in recent decades. There follows a chapter on the survival of the evidence which describes the various kinds of archaeological preservation found in archaeological sites throughout the world. Clark also discusses actual techniques of excavation although these are covered only in very general terms. A chapter on chronology summarizes most of the major dating methods in use today although a few of the most recent and promising, such as obsidian dating, are not mentioned.

Probably the most valuable chapters in the book are those in which Clark discusses the reconstruction of the economic, social, intellectual, and religious aspects of ancient cultures through use of archaeological evidence. Clark recognizes clearly the essential limitations of archaeological materials, but these chapters should be required reading for those social scientists who persist in regarding archaeology as merely the classification of dusty potsherds.

Finally, there is a judicious appraisal of the value of archaeology

in terms of the education of the individual and the larger interests of society. Clark is fully aware of the dangerous misuses to which archaeology has been put in fostering arrogant nationalism, but he firmly believes that, rightly used, archaeology may serve its highest social purpose in promoting human solidarity through providing a sense of history universal in time as well as space.

ROBERT R. HOWARD
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WORKING WITH GROUPS. By Walter M. Lifton. *New York: John Wiley,*
1961. 238 pp. $6.00.

THE diffusion of sociological ideas in the field of group treatment is apparent in this attempt to assist those who find themselves working with groups. This text is a popularized effort to communicate the techniques, problems, processes, and theory of the author's approach to group therapy, which is strongly influenced by the client-centered and phenomenological point of view. To encompass within the confines of this relatively small book the confusion and controversy that exists in this new, multidisciplined field is both a daring and a difficult objective. Lifton has undertaken to pool the opinions, experiences, and research findings of others in the fields of education, psychology, group work, sociology, sociometry, and group dynamics, with his own experiences as a guidance counselor and professional educator. He takes the reader by the hand and leads him rather skillfully through the maze of group therapy.

After a brief discussion of the philosophical assumptions that underlie the learning process in group therapy, the author presents a summary of some of the more important issues involved in the group process. Succeeding chapters offer protocols of several group meetings as well as a discussion of the typical problems that a group leader is often confronted with. These are the perennial problems in this field which reflect the great gap in our knowledge of the group therapeutic process. The final chapters are devoted to a consideration of problems of self

and group evaluation. In addition, the Appendix includes a diary of a college classroom group. Each chapter concludes with a résumé of a list of references of related studies. Also, there is a selected bibliography of doctoral dissertations in the field of group treatment, a rare and welcome contribution. Throughout, the author has attempted to encapsule a host of issues and problems in the form of questions and injunctions to assist group leaders to evaluate themselves.

Although the author's focus is primarily on the school situation, it is worth noting that group methods are being employed in other community and institutional settings as well. For example, almost half of the correctional institutions in this country have incorporated group techniques in their treatment programs (see L. W. McCorkle and A. Elias, "Survey of Group Therapy on American Correctional Institutions," *Federal Probation*, June, 1960). This development has occurred despite the fact that the basic issues in group treatment have yet to be analyzed. Although it is not unique to this field, it is apparent that the application of group techniques is growing at a more rapid pace than our understanding of them. The author is well aware of this problem when he states: "There is little doubt that many questions in the area of group process need investigation" (p. 174).

By and large, the sociologist and the social psychologist have ignored this field probably on the assumption that

it is peripheral to their central interest. However, even a cursory examination of the protocols of group sessions in this book should suggest a wide range of problems that fall within the purview of sociology and the related field of social psychology. The research literature Lifton has drawn upon in this text reflects the basic concerns of the psychologist and the educator. The overwhelming majority of these studies, for example, attempt to measure the impact of the group experience upon the individual member. Although they are somewhat vague and generalized, these findings suggest some answers to the question of what do people get out of a group therapeutic experience. On the other hand, we are in a very precarious position when we attempt to answer the sociological question of what is happening to the group in a therapeutic situation. Few research efforts have focused on this problem, yet answers to it lie squarely within the area of competence of the sociologist.

Lifton has written a highly readable, informative introductory text in a relatively undifferentiated field. He has attempted to demonstrate that the group process can be coped with and employed to achieve group solutions to the problems facing it. It should be of interest to all practitioners of group methods in any social setting.

ALBERT ELIAS
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS. By Clara Chassell Cooper. *Portsmouth, Ohio: The Psychological Service Center Press, 1960. 252 pp. $6.00. $5.25.*

THIS monograph has a history which the author clarifies in the Foreword. In 1935, Professor Clara Chassell Cooper (then Clara Frances Chassell), a psychologist, published *The Relation Between Morality and Intellect* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935), her doctoral dissertation, which became widely known and frequently cited. Growing out of that volume (and mentioned in it), she prepared a companion monograph which readers could secure from her until "available in printed form." At long last, this monograph has been published and is the subject of this review.

The author orients the reader to the relationship between the two volumes as follows: "The comparative study of delinquents and non-delinquents [the monograph under review] finds its place in the research on the relation between morality and intellect [the volume cited above] as an abridged review of non-correlational studies of the relation between delinquency and mental inferiority. Although the report of this comprehensive research should be consulted in order to understand the broader implications of the comparative study, the present work is complete in itself . . ." (p. v).

The work is properly referred to as "an historical atlas." It is a survey and analysis of more than 170 investigations of the relationship between delinquency and intelligence published before January 1, 1928, in the United States and in foreign countries. The method used is a comparison of delinquency in paired feeble-minded and non–feeble-minded groups, and comparisons, in turn, of estimates of mental deficiency, of reports of educational status, and of results of intelligence tests in paired delinquent and non-delinquent groups.

A detailed review of the findings based on studies which were made over thirty, and in some cases almost fifty, years ago would not be in order.

Judging from the impressive competence she displays in analyzing the mass of data dealt with, Professor Cooper would no doubt agree that there have been, since the studies she used were made, many developments in techniques of testing intelligence and in statistical methods for analyzing the results. She herself, at a time when the doctrine that feeble-mindedness was the chief cause of delinquency was still enjoying great popularity, was quite circumspect in her interpretations. She is careful to point out in great detail all sorts of variables which must be taken into account and which may have introduced biases of one kind or another which could serve to distort any demonstrable relationship between delinquency and intelligence.

The question still lurks, and readers will ask: Does the work serve any purpose at this late date? Professor Cooper herself sees it as "a source book of research problems and material" on the subject matter it covers; as a demonstration of the importance and practicability of pairing experimental and control groups; as a "convenient handbook" for those "who are interested in pursuing studies of feeble-minded and delinquent groups utilizing the comparative method, and in making comparisons with data for an earlier period"; and as a pattern and inducement for uniform and standardized methods of reporting data from a vast number of sources.

One further virtue may be mentioned. Professor Cooper's monograph is a most challenging model of extraordinary prodigiousness and skill in amassing, clarifying, tabulating, analyzing, and reporting an overwhelming wealth of data. It is astonishingly comprehensive, skillfully compiled, and methodically and lucidly detailed.

One can well imagine that the very thought of it is enough to make her shudder, but it would be very good indeed to have Professor Cooper do it again—this time covering the thirty years since her survey stopped.

MICHAEL HAKEEM
University of Wisconsin

EDUCATION IN THE FORMING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. By Bernard Bailyn. *Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. $3.50.*

THIS small volume is but one of a series of monographs sponsored by the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The goal in each case is to explore special historical fields "as yet only slightly exploited or in need of a fresh approach." In this instance the author seeks to make a contribution to our knowledge of the role of education in early America. His goals are twofold: First, he makes a brief examination of the historical materials already available; secondly, finding them lacking in a number of ways, he proposes a "fresh approach" and suggests topics for further research for those who are interested in Education and Colonial America.

This volume will, in all probability, be of use to those who seek some bibliographical information pertaining to this phase of American history. For those, however, who seek some understanding of the dynamic relationships that existed between the early American school system and the rapidly changing colonial community, this monograph will be of little value. In his desire to cover as much as possible the author has come up with a shopping list of variables and little systematic discussion of how these social factors are related to each other and to the development of educational institutions in America.

DAVID GOTTLIEB
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THE CRIME PROBLEM. By Walter C. Reckless. *New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts (3rd ed.), 1961. 648 pp. $6.75.*

THIS is a timely revision of a well-anchored text book. The title does not do the book justice. Reckless does not write about the crime problem. He is concerned primarily with the nature, causation, and control of crime, and with the present status of criminology and penology. The new edition is set up to provide for a "follow-up course in Penology after the introductory course in Criminology."

Some basically important changes and additions appear in the new edition. Etiological theories and explanations have been expanded. Included also is a statement on "containment theory," intended to be best suited to explain "the middle range of delinquent and criminal behavior."

Earlier criminologists would have done well to pass up attempts to "solve the riddle of causation in an inclusive sense, and endeavored instead to classify specific orders of (criminal) behavior somewhat as the naturalist did plants." Reckless follows up the challenge. The sections dealing with juvenile delinquency, agencies on prevention and control, and experimental approaches have been expanded. There is a new overview chapter; a new chapter on homicide and suicide; and the material dealing with explanations and causation has been expanded from two chapters to seven. And there is also a new presentation on prison programs and organization.

The new edition has lost nothing of the earlier important emphasis on socio-cultural factors. The engaging style of writing that has contributed to the teachableness of earlier editions has been carried through the enlargements and revisions of this edition.

JAMES M. REINHARDT
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INDEX TO VOLUME TWO

Articles

Note on Indices and Assumptions, A, *by* Robert P. Sylvester, 97

Primary Group, The: A Reappraisal, *by* Alan P. Bates *and* Nicholas Babchuk, 181

Primary Group Influence on Vocational Choice, *by* Eugene Haas, Marvin Taves, *and* David Shaw, 87

RHODES, A. LEWIS, Authoritarianism and Alienation: The F-Scale and the Srole Scale as Predictors of Prejudice, 193

Role Conception and Career Aspiration: A Study of Identity in Nursing, *by* Ronald G. Corwin, 69

Rural-Urban Differences and the Family, *by* William H. Key, 49

SHAW, DAVID. *See* HAAS, EUGENE

Sociology in Italy, *by* Michele Marotta *and* A. James Gregor, 215

SYLVESTER, ROBERT P. A Note on Indices and Assumptions, 97

Symposium on Values in Demographic Research: Discussion, *by* John J. Kane, 293; Introductory Comments, *by* Roy G. Francis, 259

TAVES, MARVIN. *See* HAAS, EUGENE

Urbanization and Integration of the Ambonese in the Netherlands, *by* Tamme Wittermans *and* Noel P. Gist, 119

Value Assumptions in Family Research with Reference to Population, *by* Floyd M. Martinson, 281

Value Assumptions in Recent Research on Migration, *by* Donald O. Cowgill, 263

Variations in Interaction Profiles and Group Size, *by* Robert L. Hamblin *and* L. Keith Miller, 105

WITTERMANS, TAMME, *and* GIST, NOEL P., Urbanization and Integration of the Ambonese in the Netherlands, 119

Reviews

ALBERT, E. M., *and* KLUCKHOHN, C., A Selected Bibliography on Values, Ethics, and Esthetics in the Behavioral Sciences and Philosophy, 1920–1958 [Hugh Dalziel Duncan], 226

APPLE, DORRIAN (*ed.*), Sociological Studies of Health and Sickness [Robert W. Habenstein], 148

Archaeology and Society, *by* Grahame Clark [Robert B. Howard], 315

BAILYN, BERNARD, Education in the Forming of American Society [David Gottlieb], 318

BARITZ, LOREN, The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry [Douglas Rennie], 302

Becoming More Civilized: A Psychological Exploration, *by* Leonard W. Doob [Burton R. Fisher], 305

BLOOD, ROBERT O., JR., *and* WOLFE, DONALD M., Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living [Herbert R. Barringer], 142

BRODERICK, FRANCIS L., W. E. B. Dubois. Negro Leader In a Time of Crisis [Ansel P. Simpson], 307

CALHOUN, ARTHUR W., A Social History of the American Family [Gordon Shipman], 231

Chinese in New Zealand, The: A Study in Assimilation, *by* Ng Bickleen Fong [H. Y. Tien], 146

Chinese in the United States of America, The, *by* Rose Hum Lee [H. Y. Tien], 146

CLARK, GRAHAME, Archaeology and Society [Robert T. Howard], 315

CLOWARD, RICHARD A., *and* OHLIN, LLOYD E., Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs [John I. Kitsuse], 222

Community Political Systems, *ed. by* Morris Janowitz [Robert B. Notestein], 310

Comparative Study of Delinquents and Non-Delinquents, A, *by* Clara Chassell Cooper [Michael Hakeem], 317

COOPER, CLARA CHASSELL, A Comparative Study of Delinquents and Non-Delinquents [Michael Hakeem], 317

Crime and Passion, *by* Eugene Mozes [Irwin D. Rinder], 149

Crime Problem, The, *by* Walter C. Reckless [James M. Reinhardt], 319

DAVIDSEN, OLUF M. *See* SEWELL, WILLIAM N.; *and* MORRIS, RICHARD T.

Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, *by* Richard A.